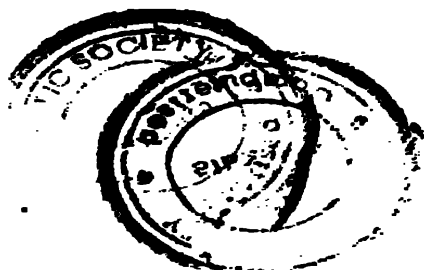




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**HISTORICAL SKETCHES  
OF THE  
SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY**



# **HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY**

*From the earliest times to  
the last Muhammadan Dynasty*

**Vol. II**

**MARK WILKS  
and  
MURRAY HAMMICK**



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**COSMO PUBLICATIONS**  
**NEW DELHI** **INDIA**

964.8

517-114

V. 2

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY  
CALCUTTA-700016

Acc. No. 46222

Date 20.2.86

**FIRST EDITION** 1817

**SECOND EDITION** 1831

*Published by :*

Rani Kapoor (Mrs.)  
Cosmo Publications  
24-B, Ansari Road, Daryaganj  
New-Delhi-110002

*Printed by :*

Mehra offset Press  
New Delhi-110002

SL NO-017677

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of the*  
**SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY**

**Vol. II**

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THE French and English governments had, after the truce of 1755, been competitors for the fame of impolicy and injustice, in superseding two such men as M. Bussy and Colonel Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> Five French officers of superior rank had done still greater honour to themselves than to M. Bussy, in signing a request to M. Lally that he might be placed above them.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Lawrence had in 1757 given his services as a volunteer to the second officer by whom he had been superseded, but the recall of Colonel Adlercorn left him in command of the troops which defended Madras. The fatigues of that trying service had again impaired his health, and he had lately carried with him to England<sup>3</sup> the affectionate regret 1759.

<sup>1</sup> In March 1754, the Directors of the East India Company intimated to the Madras Government that the King had ordered a naval squadron of six ships, under Admiral Charles Watson, together with Col. John Adlercorn's regiment of foot, etc., to proceed to the East Indies. The King had appointed Col. Adlercorn to be Commander-in-Chief. Lawrence had thus the mortification of being superseded as Commander-in-Chief by Adlercorn who was his senior. Lawrence then resumed his seat in Council, when the sword granted him by the Company was presented to him. (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 447.)

<sup>2</sup> M. Bussy had been superseded by Lally. "The rank which Mr. Bussy held at this time was only that of Lieutenant Colonel; and besides Mr. Soupire, who was a Major General, six of the officers arrived from France were Colonels, who of course must command him on all services when acting together. The Colonels, sensible of the advantages which might be derived from his abilities, and his experience and reputation in the country, and how much the opportunities would be precluded by the present inferiority of his rank, signed a declaration, requesting on these considerations, that he might be appointed a Brigadier General. . . . M. Lally could make no objection, but with his usual asperity imputed the compliment to the influence of Mr. Bussy's money, instead of his reputation." (*Orme's History*, Vol. II, p. 370.)

<sup>3</sup> Stringer Lawrence left Madras in June, 1759. He was persuaded by the Directors to come back again in October 1761 for another tour of service as Commander-in-Chief, with the rank of a Major-General and a seat as additional member of Council next below the Governor. He finally retired in 1766.



of all his countrymen, and the general respect of the natives of India. Colonel Brereton,<sup>1</sup> on whom the command devolved, conducted the operations of the campaign of 1759, in the center of the province, with intelligence and vigour; but naturally wishing to achieve some distinguished exploit before the arrival of his successor, had in September failed with great loss in an attempt on Wandiwash; and the English government had now redeemed all their errors, by the appointment of Colonel Coote to the command of the army of Madras. He arrived on the twenty-seventh of October: and joined the head quarters of the troops cantoned for the rains at Conjeveram on the twenty-first of November, 1759.

The earliest measures of this officer seemed to infuse new intelligence and decision into all the operations of the troops.<sup>2</sup> Nature had given to Colonel Coote all that nature can confer in the formation of a soldier; and the regular study of every branch of his profession, and experience in most of them, had formed an accomplished officer. A bodily frame of unusual vigour and activity, and mental energy always awake, were restrained from excessive action by a patience and temper which never allowed the

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<sup>1</sup> Major Cholmondeley Brereton officiated in command in 1759. Col. Draper wrote of him to the Select Committee, Madras, "your warfare at present is in such good hands that you need be in no pain for its Success: Major Brereton's modesty makes him diffident of himself; but he will do well, and it is a surer Omen of Success than Opionated Presumption." (*Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. X, 28th March 1759.) He was killed on the 22nd January 1760 at Wandiwash, fighting under Eyre Coote.

<sup>2</sup> Eyre Coote was the son of an Irish clergyman; he entered the army at an early age. In 1754 he sailed for India, a Captain in the 89th, Adlereorn's regiment (now the 1st Dorset), the first English corps to set foot in India. Two years later he accompanied Clive to Bengal and was present at the capture of Calcutta. Later, before the battle of Plassey, he advised immediate action against the council of Clive. In 1759 Coote was gazetted Lieutenant Colonel of the 84th, a regiment lately raised. He joined at Madras and then commanded all the troops.

spirit of enterprize to outmaroh the dictates of prudence. Daring valour, and cool reflexion strove for the mastery in the composition of this great man. The conception and execution of his designs equally commanded the confidence of his officers; and a master at once of human nature, and of the science of war, his rigid discipline was tempered with an unaffected kindness, and consideration for the wants and even the prejudices of those whom he commanded, which won the affections of the European soldiers, and rendered him the idol \* of the native troops.

His first act was to assemble a council of war, for the purpose of hearing and discussing the opinions of his principal officers regarding the operations of the ensuing campaign. A detachment of the French army had re-occupied Seringham, and other divisions were employed in distant parts of the province: it was accordingly resolved to open the campaign by attacking Wandewash. The first movements were ostensibly directed against Arcot; but the preparations were so skilfully combined, that Wandewash was carried on the twenty-ninth of November before it was possible for the French to move a sufficient body of troops for its relief: and Carangooly was reduced 1759. in a few days afterwards. The distant detachments made by M. Lally were partly occasioned by the urgency of his affairs; but the loss of these two places shewed him the necessity of concentrating his force. The two armies arrived in each other's presence in the neighbourhood of Arcot early in January 1760. 1760. Colonel Coote's inferiority in cavalry determined him to avoid a general action under any circumstances of

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\* His portrait is hung up in the exchange at Madras; and no sepoy who has served under him ever enters the room without making his obeisance to *Coote Bahader*.

[The picture painted by Thomas Hickey in 1822, is in the Banqueting Hall, Madras. There are portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, the Oriental Club, the E.I.U.S. Club, and the India Office.]

disadvantage. M. Bussy's conception of the campaign was to make use of this superiority, to act on the communications of the English army, and thus compel it to fight at a disadvantage, or retire to Madras for supplies; and in either case the recovery of Wandewash and Carangooly would be easy and certain. M. Lally was of a different opinion, and expected to be able, under circumstances entirely dissimilar, to retake Wandewash, with a select corps, while the rest of his army should occupy the attention of the English. Colonel Coote was not to be so amused, but approached within two easy marches of Wandewash: and M. Lally finding his original intention frustrated, was also obliged to concentrate his force. Colonel Coote had entire confidence in the garrison; they reciprocally trusted to the wisdom and energy of his measures, and prepared to sustain the attack with perfect coolness and decision; he therefore determined to leave M. Lally to waste his strength in an unprofitable siege, until the breach should be practicable, when he hoped to relieve the place by striking a decisive blow either at the trenches and batteries, or the army which protected them, according to the opportunity which might be afforded by the manœuvres of the enemy. On the twentieth of January the report of the officer commanding in Wandewash determined him to move: and on the twenty-second he obtained a decisive victory over M. Lally's army, which retreated with the loss of upwards of one-fourth of his European troops, twenty-four pieces of cannon, and all its equipments and military stores. M. Lally had committed great errors in the plan of his campaign; and in the early operations of the twenty-second had been completely out-manœuvred by Colonel Coote; who, by a most judicious movement, had placed his little army in a position where he had a free communication with the fort, and a flank protected by its fire; with the advantageous choice of attacking the batteries and trenches, or the French

camp. Although M. Lally did not penetrate in sufficient time to prevent it, the intention of this able movement, it must be admitted that he exerted himself with judgment and skill to remedy the oversight: but the superior mind of Colonel Coote, who provided with caution against every contingency, restrained his troops until he saw the opportunity of turning a flank, and deciding by corresponding efforts the fortune of the day. M. Bussy was among the prisoners; and Colonel Coote did homage to his character, by immediately complying with his request for a passport to Pondicherry. The judgment of Colonel Coote, in availing himself of the consequences of this brilliant victory, was, if possible, more conspicuous than the skill by which he had achieved it. M. Lally in his retreat committed the farther error of not re-enforcing Chittapet, which was taken on the twenty-ninth; on the tenth of February the capital was once more in possession of the English: and the indefatigable activity of Colonel Coote left scarcely a day of the ensuing campaign without some acquisition. A body of three thousand horse of Morari Row,<sup>1</sup> who had served with M. Lally, left him on the reverse of his fortunes; the consequent superiority of the English cavalry enabled them to improve every advantage; and by daily circumscribing more and more the resources of the French, to look with some distant hope to the capture of Pondicherry. Under these

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<sup>1</sup> Lally had turned for help to Morari Rao, when he failed to get any aid from Basalat Jang, and Morari Rao sent him a body of Mahratta horse in January 1760. "This affair had been negotiated by that curious person, Antonio Noronha, now Bishop of Halicarnassus, whom I have already mentioned in connection with Dupleix's intrigues at St. Thome. He was carried to Europe by Boscawen, released, and then spent some time in Paris, where his conduct was exceedingly uneclesiastical. Dupleix family procured for him the appointment of a Bishop in *partibus* in spite of the opposition of the Papal Nuncio at Paris." (Dodwell: *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 184 n.)

circumstances, M. Lally was induced to turn his attention towards Mysoor, with a view of obtaining the co-operation of that power. The negotiation was opened by a church militant prelate of doubtful history, who called himself the bishop of Halicarnassus; and on his report, two officers of rank were sent to settle the terms with Hyder, who protracted the final adjustment; and detached his brother-in-law Mukhdoom Ali, with powers to conclude the treaty.

Mukhdoom Ali was already in the field, for the conquest of the Baramahal; a province situated on an intermediate level, between the first and second ranges of hills which separate the higher from the lower countries, and taking its name from the twelve fortresses built chiefly on rocky summits, which protected an equal number of subordinate divisions.<sup>1</sup> This province, formerly part of the domain of the celebrated Jug Deo,<sup>2</sup> had been conquered from Mysoor

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<sup>1</sup> In the Appendix VI a list is given of the "Purgunnahs" supposed to have belonged to Chick Deo Raja of Mysore in 1704. There has been great difficulty in identifying "Koosh" in that list, which some authorities consider to have referred to "Coorgh," which of course is not in the Baramahal at all. A long note on the subject will be found in the Salem District Manual, Vol. I, pp. 83-90, Government Press, Madras. The tract probably consisted roughly of what are now four taluqs in the Salem and North Arcot Districts of Madras, viz., Krishnagiri, Dharmapuri, Tirupatur and Uttankarai, and the Kangundi Zemindari, an area of about 4,000 square miles; the whole face of the country is a series of hills running up to 2,500 feet above sea level, with valleys and open plain country between them. The hills jut out from the Mysore plateau, the passes to which they command, and are like the teeth of a saw, having at their salient angles lofty eminences crowned by forts, which in their day must have been almost impregnable.

<sup>2</sup> *Jug Deo*.—Jagadeva Rao, came from near Hyderabad, and for services to the Vijayanagar dynasty was granted the tract now known as the Baramahal, about 1578. His son's name Jagadēva Rāyalu II is preserved in a stone inscription in Pennāgaram. The dynasty was overthrown by Mustafa Khan, who ruled for five years, after which it passed into the hands of the Mahrattas, who held the tract for about forty years, when

by the Patan Nabob of Kurpa; but in the year 1758 Kurpa was invaded by the Mahrattas, and reduced to the necessity of ceding one-half of its possessions. Assud Khan Mehteree, governor of the Baramahal on the part of Kurpa, a brave but improvident man, was superseded about this time by another officer; and came over to Hyder, representing the facility of seizing the province, and offering the aid of his own local information. This advantage, and the reduced strength of Kurpa, induced Hyder to undertake the conquest of Baramahal; but it was first expedient to reduce the intermediate fort and country of the Poligar of Anicul,<sup>1</sup> situated on the eastern verge of the tract of woody hills extending from Savendy Droog<sup>2</sup> to the Caveri, twenty-three miles south of Bangalore, and in the most direct road from Seringapatam to Baramahal; through which province also runs the best and most direct road to Pondicherry. Hyder had received a mission of similar import from Pondicherry in March 1759: and he availed himself of the first convenient opportunity to occupy those intermediate territories; and thus obtain a safe and uninterrupted communication with the center of the province of Arcot.

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Zulfikar Khan, acting for the Mogul Empire, reduced the country, after which Aurangzēb gave it as a jāghīr to the Nāwāb of Cuddapah. Hyder conquered the territory, and after a short tenure ceded it to the Mahrattas in lieu of peshkash, but after two years Hyder resumed the tract in 1759.

*Anicul*.—Anekal, a taluq in the south-east of Bangalore, 190 square miles. The town of the same name, the headquarters of the taluq, was said to have been founded in 1608 by Chikka Timme Gauda. His family continued to hold possession of the tract of country, until it was expelled by Hyder and the tract annexed to Mysore.

<sup>2</sup> *Savendy Droog*.—Savandurga, is a hill almost 4,000 feet high in the Magadi Taluq, Bangalore District, about 20 miles west of Bangalore and about 30 miles north-west of Anekal. The hill was fortified in 1543 by an officer of the Vijayanagar Government, who afterwards made himself independent. In 1728 it was captured by the Mysore Raja.

As soon as Mukhdoom had accomplished these two objects, he proceeded, in conformity to Hyder's orders, to Pondicherry. The following were the general objects of the treaty which Mukhdoom was impowered to ratify. "That a corps of three thousand select horse and five thousand sepoy, with a due proportion of artillery, should be furnished by Hyder to serve with the French, and to be paid by them in the war of Coromandel : and that the fort of Thiagar,<sup>1</sup> which had been taken by the French in September, should be permanently ceded to Mysoor, as a post of deposit and communication." This place is most commodiously situated for the purposes which have been stated; being about twenty miles from Ahtoor,<sup>2</sup> which commands the pass leading from the districts of Salem and Shenkerrydroog,<sup>3</sup> long in

<sup>1</sup> *Thiagar*.—Tyāga Drug in the Kallakurichi Taluq of the South Arcot District, 46 miles west of Cuddalore. The fort is 740 feet above the sea; it is situated at the intersection of roads from Arcot to Trichinopoly and from Salem to Cuddalore. It was strongly fortified and was one of the bulwarks against invasion from the west. It is now completely deserted and covered with low undergrowth.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahtoor*.—Atur, a town 30 miles east of Salem on the road to Cuddalore, about 40 miles west of Tyagadrag. The country is broken by rocks and hills, with mountain ranges north and south; the fort was in the form of a square, with batteries and bastions in the angles and sides, and was a strong position.

<sup>3</sup> *Shenkerrydroog*.—Sankaridrug, a town 22 miles south-west of Salem. The drug or hill here rises 2,345 feet above the sea. It is terraced with fortifications, attributed to Tipu. The country round was added to Mysore by the conquests of Chikka Deva Raja in 1688. An interesting copper plate was found near Sankaridrug, dated October 1717, containing a grant, by Dodda Krishna Raja, of Mysore, 1714-1731, of two villages to 32 Brahmins to form an endowment for the temple of Sankagiri. The document gives an interesting list of the taxes in the villages, which were made over to the grantees, i.e., weaver house taxes, tobacco, grass taxes, tolls, produce taxes, village servants' taxes, plough taxes, sheep taxes, caste fines, temple dues, king's dues, additional crop taxes, besides others. It forms an indication of the kind of oppression the raiyats underwent in those days. (Le Fanu: *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II, pp. 137-140.)

the possession of Mysoor; thirty-five miles from the gorge of the pass of Tingrecota, or Changama\*; an easy and convenient access from the recent acquisition of Baramahal, and about fifty miles E.S.E. from Pondicherry. "On the favourable conclusion of the war of Arcot, Trichinopoly†, Madura, and Tinnevely, were to be ceded to Mysoor; and the French agreed to assist in their reduction. In the mean while the Mysoreans were to retain whatever they should themselves conquer in Arcot, but return these conquests, on the possession of equivalent territory in Madura or Tinnevely."

Mukhdoom arrived at Thiagar with the first division of his troops on the 4th of June 1760; and soon after at Pondicherry, where he ratified the treaty on the 27th; and evading the English troops, returned on the following day to bring up the remainder of his corps, and a convoy of provisions, for the supply of which he made a most profitable contract.

Colonel Coote had by this time captured every French post of importance in the province, Thiagar and Ginjee excepted; and had circumscribed their force within the limits of a few miles round Pondicherry. For the purpose of confronting this new danger, he detached a corps under Major Moore, to which, holding too cheaply the military prowess of the Mysoreans, he appointed no more than one hundred and eighty European infantry, thirty Abyssinians, fifty hussars, eleven hundred sepoy, and sixteen hundred irregular horse. This corps was

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\* Towns situated at the western and eastern extremities of the pass, which in Baramahal is named the pass of Tingrecota, and in Arcot the pass of Changama. Most passes in India take their names from the towns at their entrance, and are thus differently called by the people at their different extremities.

† Mr. Orme, who seems to have had access to French official documents, states Madura and Tinnevely only, and is perhaps correct. But all my manuscripts add Trichinopoly.



met on the 17th of July near to Trivadi by the whole body of Mysoreans proceeding to Pondicherry, and completely routed: the native horse and foot were entirely dispersed; the European troops escaped into Trivadi; the infantry, with the loss of one third, and the cavalry, of one half of their numbers. Hyder was much elated with the intelligence of this success; and sent reinforcements considerably exceeding the stipulated number, who were to act according to circumstances, and at all events to be employed in securing territory, which should be the pledge of his future conquests to the south of the Caveri. He prepared to augment still farther the troops in Arcot, by directing several detachments from different stations to assemble in Baramahal: and these increasing efforts might have given a different aspect to the war, which was terminated by the capture of Pondicherry in January 1761,<sup>1</sup> if the greatest danger to which Hyder was ever exposed had not compelled him to look exclusively to his own preservation.

The old dowager, perceiving by the late indecent encroachments of Hyder, that the removal of Nunjeraj had only substituted another more dangerous usurper, who was gradually preparing the complete subversion of the government, opened her views to Kundè Row, under a previous oath of inviolable secrecy. She

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<sup>1</sup> Coote's report of the taking of Pondicherry is worthy of notice. "I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Garrison of Pondicherry surrendered themselves Prisoners at Discretion on the 16th Instant. In the morning of the same day we took possession of the Villenour Gate, and in the Evening of the Citadel. I beg leave to congratulate you on this happy Event. Eyre Coote." (*Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. XIV, 19th January 1761.) Lally was sent to Madras and sent home on 6th March 1761. In October the Madras Council reported that "Bondicherry is entirely destroyed, as are all its neighbouring Forts and Places." (M. to Eng. Vol. III, 2nd October 1761.) The capture of Pondicherry in 1761 marks the close of the period during which the English were in any peril of losing their supremacy. Hence forward the French power in India counted for little.

observed to him, and to the Raja, that a large portion of Hyder's troops was absent in the province of Arcot, in the reinforcements moving to the Baramahal, and in the detachments serving in the assigned districts; that he was himself cantoned under the fire of the garrison, with one hundred horse and fifteen hundred infantry only. The remainder of the disposable troops, and the greater part of his artillery, being cantoned to the northward of the river, which was now full, the possession of the fort, which commanded the bridges over both its branches, cut him off from all reinforcement, and made him a prisoner in the island. Beenee\* Visagee Pundit, with an army of twenty thousand Mahratta horse, was ravaging the country between Balipoor and Deonelly,<sup>1</sup> to the north-east of the territory of Mysoor, and looking out for some power to whom he might sell his services; and the aid of a body of his troops might be secretly obtained: and if this opportunity were lost, the Hindoo house of Mysoor might be considered as extinct.

Kundè Row had been from his earliest youth the personal-servant of Hyder, and entered with reluctance on a project involving the destruction of a person whose success in life he had so long

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\* The "Beenee Walla" in the Mahratta armies is a sort of quarter-master general, commanding the advanced guard, and a person who has filled that office generally retains *Beenee* as an epithet prefixed to his name.

[Miles in his History of Hydur Naik notes "بينى" signifies the nose, but by the Mahrattas the advanced guard of a body of troops is called the Beenee." His work, which is a translation of a life of Hyder, by Meer Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani, the "Neshauni Hyduri" or "remembrance of Hydur," places this episode as taking place in 1756.]

<sup>1</sup> *Deonelly*.—Devanhalli, 23 miles north of Bangalore. In 1749, it was taken by Mysore from Chikkappa Gauda, the local chief who held the fort, and it was in that siege that Hyder Ali first gained distinction, and it was here that his son Tipu was born. The site of Hyder's house is still pointed out to the west of the fort.

considered as inseparable from his own: but the impression left on his mind by the late discussions, the more powerful consideration of religious attachment, and probably the view of placing himself in the exact position from which Hyder was to be removed, at length determined him; and with the dowager and the Raja he united in an oath of mutual fidelity, at the feet of the holy idol of the great temple of the capital.

There was at this time in Seringapatam a Soucar named Boucerjee, who had formerly resided at Poona, and had still commercial transactions in that city and country. He was the person selected to conduct, by means of his connections in the Mahratta camp, the negotiation with Visajee Pundit; and six thousand horse were engaged, and approached Seringapatam. On the morning of the 12th of August, the day on which they were expected to arrive, the gates of the fort were not opened at the accustomed hour; and with the first of clear day-light, a tremendous cannonade opened on Hyder and his troops from all the works which bore on the position; which was the Maha \* Noumi Muntup, situated on the ground now occupied by a part of the Deria † Dowlut Baug. Hyder, surprised at this unexpected salutation, gave immediate orders to call for Kundè Row; but was still more astonished to hear that Kundè Row was distinctly perceived on the works, directing the fire of the artillery. He saw at once the extent of the treachery, and prepared to meet it with his accustomed presence of mind. The troops soon found cover

\* "The pavilion of the great ninth," viz. the last day of the festival commonly called the Dessara: on which day the Raja performed at this pavilion the ceremony of preparing his arms and pitching his tent and standard.

† "The garden of the wealth of the sea" with a palace erected and so named by Tippoo. The walls are covered with rude paintings of his military exploits, and particularly the defeat of Colonel Baillie in 1780. (See map.)

in the ravines and hollows, without sustaining much loss ; and his family in a miserable hut sheltered by its situation from the fire of the fort. At the same moment that the cannonade commenced, a detachment from the fort, which had passed the bridge before day, fell by surprise upon the infantry and artillery on the northern bank, and completely succeeded. Exclusively of the bridge over the northern branch, which was then situated opposite the western extremity of the fort, the convenience of the inhabitants who lived in the center and eastern parts of the island required an establishment of ferry boats,\* which are of a simple but excellent construction for military purposes ; made of bamboo wicker work, constructed exactly in the manner of a common circular clothes-basket, covered, and rendered water tight by green hides ; and from eight to twelve feet diameter. Hyder's first care, after making a disposition of his small body of troops, was to secure all the boats and boatmen, in a situation concealed from the view of the fort, and see that they were all put in a state of perfect repair. The Mahrattas, according to custom, did not arrive at the appointed time ; and Kundè Row postponed until their arrival his final attack upon Hyder ; and during the day they

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\* Herodotus, chap. i. sect. 94. notices as one of the most remarkable things he had seen at Babylon boats of a construction so exactly similar, that the description of one would precisely answer for the other with the single difference of substituting willow for bamboo. These boats carried the produce of Armenia, and " the parts above Assyria " down the Euphrates to Babylon : and each boat along with its cargo carried a few asses for the purpose of conveying the returns by a shorter overland route ; a process not altogether unlike the trade on a larger scale of the Ohio and Mississippi at this day. Boats of the description noticed by Herodotus, although apparently unknown in Greece at that period, were in after ages commonly used in Italy on the Po ; and in Britain in the time of Cæsar. Boats of the same materials but of different shape are used at this time in South Wales, and the north-west of Ireland : in the former country they are named *corracle*, in the latter *corriagh*.

mutually attempted to amuse each other with negotiation.

It is stated by the family of Kundè \* Row, that regular reports were brought to him of all Hyder's preparations ; that Hyder in his messages recognized in the services of Kundè Row all the success that had attended him in life ; represented that without his counsel he was helpless, and was now ready to be guided by his commands ; and deprecated in terms of the utmost humility his proceeding to extremities. That Kundè Row, in reply, acknowledged in his turn the benefits which he had received from Hyder, and disclaimed the intention of personal indignity ; but stated that he was now the servant of the Raja, whose orders he must obey ; that all he required from Hyder was to retire for ever from the service of Mysoor ; and on receiving his promise to that effect, he would withdraw the guards from the opposite bank ; and advised him to escape that night ; as, on the morrow, he should be compelled to act decisively against him. I should hesitate to ascribe to Kundè Row the remnant of virtuous feeling which could dictate a conduct so politically imprudent if it were possible in any other manner to explain the known fact, that Hyder found the ordinary landing-place of the northern bank without a guard of any description. However this may be, he made a distribution of as much money and jewels as could be conveyed among his hundred horsemen, six officers, and two camel hircarras ;<sup>1</sup> all men of tried fidelity ; and embarked immediately after the close of the day, swimming over the camels and horses, and loading them on the opposite bank with the proportion of treasure allotted to each : about twenty spare horses accompanied, for the purpose of replacing those which should first drop

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\* Particularly by Butcherow, who was then sixteen years of age, and distinctly remembers the particulars.

<sup>1</sup> *Hircarra*.—Hircara, Hind. Harkara, a messenger, a courier, an Emissary, a spy. (Vide *Hobson Jobson*.)

from fatigue: and thus equipped, Hyder left to their fate the whole of his family, and all his infantry; fled with all possible speed from the capital, and long before the arrival of the Mahrattas on the following morning he was far beyond the reach of their pursuit. At the dawn of day Kundè Row proceeded to the quarters deserted by Hyder, for the purpose of securing the remainder of the treasure, the stores, and cumbrous valuables. The infantry attempted no resistance: and Kundè Row gave orders for the immediate removal to the fort of the whole of Hyder's family, whom it is certain that he treated with kindness. Among them was Tippoo, then in his ninth year, and Kereem Saheb, born prematurely, in consequence of fright, on the preceding day.

The route of Hyder was to the north-eastward. Anicul and Bangalore are each distant from Seringapatam about seventy-five miles; the same road leads to each for near sixty miles, and then branches off to the east to Anicul, and to the north to Bangalore. The latter place was commanded by Kubbeer Beg, an old comrade and faithful friend. But the treachery of Kundè Row, who was the very last person that Hyder would have suspected, made him doubtful of the extent of the defection: and although Bangalore was his direct object, he was certain of Anicul, which was commanded by Ismaeel Ali, his brother-in-law: and there also he was certain of finding a small detachment of horse, preparing to march to the province of Arcot. He arrived at Anicul before day-light, forty horses out of one hundred and twenty having been left behind from fatigue, and their loads distributed among the remainder. Ismaeel Ali was instantly despatched to Bangalore for the purpose of ascertaining the fidelity of Kubbeer Beg, and conveying Hyder's directions for his conduct. He arrived at an early hour, and found Kubbeer Beg true to his trust. The garrison

was chiefly composed of Hindoo Peadas,<sup>1</sup> and a smaller proportion of regular infantry, all Mohammedans: it was probable that the former would obey any orders they should receive from Kundè Row; and it was therefore deemed necessary to exclude them from the fort. It happened to be the usual period for pay and muster; and Kubbeer Beg issued, as a matter of ordinary detail, an order for the Peadas to assemble immediately for muster on the glacis; and the regular infantry to take the guards of the gates. This arrangement was scarcely completed, and the gates closed, when the orders of Kundè Row arrived, directing the Peadas to seize the Killedar, and preserve the fort for the Raja. It was too late: and Ismael Ali sent the requisite information to Hyder, who, attended by the detachment of horse which he found at Anicul, entered Bangalore on the evening of the 13th of August, having performed on horseback a journey of ninety-eight miles in twenty hours, the first seventy-five on the same horse.

Hyder was now left, as it were, to begin the world again, on the resources of his own mind. The bulk of his treasures and his train of artillery and military stores all lost: the territorial revenue at the command of Kundè Row: and the possessions on which he could rest any hope for the restoration of his affairs, were Bangalore at the northern, and Dindigul at the southern, extremity of the territories of Mysoor; with Anicul and the fortresses of Baramahal. The sole foundation of a new army was the corps of Mukhdoom Ali; and its junction was nearly a desperate hope. He had, however, despatched from Anicul positive orders for them to commence their march without an hour's delay; withdrawing altogether the garrison of Thiagar, and every man that

<sup>1</sup> *Peadas*.—Hind, '*piyada*,' meaning a footman, akin in root to the Portuguese word *peao* (Span. *peon*, also *pawn* at chess) (Vide *Hobson Jobson*.)

could be spared from the posts of Baramahal: and similar directions were sent to the smaller detachments abroad. Mukhdoom Ali received these orders at Pondicherry on the 16th of August; and immediately communicated their general import to M. Lally. On the 13th of September he delivered the fort of Thiagar to a French detachment; and entered Baramahal through the pass of Changama, about the end of that month: retarded by the mass of plunder which had been collected in the province of Arcot.

In the mean while Hyder augmented his little military chest by a loan of forty thousand pounds on his personal credit from the soucars of Bangalore\*. Some of the smaller detachments had joined, and that of Yaseen Khan† was of importance: individual

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\* The Petta, protected by separate defences, is a large and opulent manufacturing town.

[Bangalore now has a population of over 180,000. It covers an area of 20½ square miles, and consists of two separate parts, namely, the City (the Pête or old native town of Bangalore proper) and the Civil and Military Station. The town or Pête was originally surrounded by a deep ditch, and a thickset thorny hedge, as a defence against Mahratta cavalry. The original fort was of mud; it was enlarged and rebuilt of stone in 1761 under Hyder Ali.]

† Surnamed "Wunta Cooderi, single or unique horseman," from his personal exploits. He was formerly in the service of Mohammed Ali, which he left in disgust in 1757: and came over to Hyder at Dindigul, with seven hundred sepoy, twenty horse, and two light guns. The number of his horse was now increased to five hundred. The blunt manners and genuine bravery of this man soon made him a personal favourite and associate of Hyder; who, although of courtly and insinuating address when the occasion demanded, was, in his ordinary habits, of coarse and vulgar manners, and a master in the low slang which is peculiar to India; the character of which may be conjectured, by fancying the union of considerable wit with the volubility of Billingsgate, and the obscenity of a brothel. Hyder and Yaseen Khan were rivals in this obscene eloquence; and the former was in the habit of amusing himself with the foul-mouthed wit of Wunta Cooderie, which he sometimes retorted with keen severity on his master.

It was some years after this period, that conversing on the



soldiers attached to his fortunes were also daily coming in, who had either deserted from the hostile army or escaped from the small posts occupied by his troops, of which Kundè Row was daily getting possession : and soldiers of fortune of every description were invited to his standard. Among the persons whom he engaged in his service at this time was Fuzzul Oolla Khan, descended from a family of high rank at the court of Delhi, himself a soldier of distinguished reputation, and son-in-law of Dilaver Khan, the late Nabob of Sera. The Mahratta Bala-jee Row, on the conquest of that place in the year 1757, had assigned as a personal jageer to the family of Dilaver Khan, a small district, including the town of Sera, which, according to the uniform practice of that people, had already been circumscribed preparatory to its gradual extinction. Fuzzul Oolla Khan, little disposed to be satisfied with a larger and

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subject of the battle of Cheroolee, Hyder said it had been lost by the *nemuc haramee* of the army (literally being false to one's salt, properly treachery, or ingratitude, but also, figuratively, put for cowardice), and that he did not know the man who had done his duty on that day. "You are right," said Wunta Cooderie, "and I ran away with the rest; but (turning up towards him the socket of an eye, which he had lost by the wound of a sabre in that battle) eo die cujus mattis in vulvam hic oculus iniit?" On the occasion of another defeat, Hyder was pronouncing another philippic on *nemuc haramee*, and looked towards Jaseen Khan. "Why do you look at me?" said he: "you had better consult Nunjeraj on the subject of *nemuc haramee*." This dreadful jest would have cost the head of any other person: but Wunta Cooderie was a privileged man.

It was the practice of Hyder to take the musters of cavalry, by sending persons, without previous notice, to count the horses in the lines. The grooms and grass-cutters of Wunta Cooderie's command were instructed how to comport themselves on such occasions: and the muster masters, pelted with clods, and bedaubed with horse-dung, were generally happy to escape before the grooms began with the reserved ammunition of stones. The muster-masters complained: but Hyder laughed at all the jokes of Wunta Cooderie: and it became well understood that his corps was exempted from muster.

undivided jageer, although affecting retirement, kept a small corps embodied for the ostensible purposes of police and security in these days of commotion. He was secretly surrounded by a considerable number, also affecting retirement, of his former companions in arms; and held constant communication with the adherents (scattered in various directions) of his own family and that of his father-in-law, in the expectation of some turn, in the course of events, more favourable to their union and future enterprize.

The accession at this period of Fuzzul Oolla Khan, an experienced officer and a man of high rank, to the service of a person but just emerged from the obscurity of a Naick, gave great reputation to the cause of Hyder; and by the rapid augmentation of his numbers was also of substantial importance. The terms of his engagement evince the high value at which his services were rated, and furnish another feature in the character of the Mohammedans of India. The primary condition was the regulation of his place and rank at court (or in public durbar), and on this head he stipulated, that whether on a saddle-cloth\*, a carpet, or a musnud,<sup>1</sup> his place should be on the same seat with Hyder; his officer, but his equal: and that he should have the distinction of two honorary attendants standing behind him, holding fans composed of the feathers† of the humma, according to the practice of his family.

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\* To persons whose habitual seat is exactly that of an English tailor, a chair is an useless annoyance, and the large double or quilted cloth which covers the saddle is a commodious seat for one or two, and a relief from fatigue always ready without a moment's preparation.

<sup>1</sup> *Musnud*.—Arab, *Masnud* from root *sanad*, 'he leaned or rested upon it.' The large cushion, used by native Princes in India, in place of a throne. (*Hobson Jobson*.)

† I am not certain what the feathers really were; they are described to have been white and of a downy appearance. The humma is a fabulous bird. The head over which its shadow once passes will assuredly be encircled with a crown. The

Mukhdoom Ali, on entering the Baramahal, had necessarily consumed some time in disencumbering himself of his plunder, and collecting the disposeable troops of the garrisons. Kundè Row directed his chief attention to the destruction of this corps, and for this purpose placed the best of his troops under the command of Gopaul Heri, the officer who commanded the six thousand Mahrattas ; and was now joined by four thousand more detached by Vesajee Pundit, who was himself encamped at the summit of the pass of Cudapanatam,<sup>1</sup> which leads directly to Vellore. Mukhdoom Ali was strenuously opposed by these troops, and after some severe fighting found himself compelled to take post under Anchittydroog<sup>2</sup>; which is situated about forty-eight miles S. by E. of Bangalore, near the verge of the descent into Baramahal. Here he was effectually blockaded by the superior numbers of the enemy, and reported to Hyder his absolute inability to advance without reinforcements. The whole of the force which could be spared from the defence of Bangalore, amounting to scarcely four thousand men and five guns, was accordingly placed under the command of Fuzzul Oolla Khan; who threw himself by night into Anicul, distant only twenty-five miles from Anchitty, and was instructed to watch an opportunity of breaking through the blockade and forming a junction with Mukhdoom. The attempt was made with considerable gallantry and skill, but many of the raw troops threw down their arms, and escaped into the woods at the moment that a farther effort would have forced

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splendid little bird suspended over the throne of Tippoo Sultaun, found at Seringapatam in 1799. was intended to represent this poetical fancy.

<sup>1</sup> *Cudapanatam*.—Kadapanattam, a village in Palmanair Taluq of Chittore District, Madras ; at the head of the Talapula Ghat about 85 miles west of Vellore.

<sup>2</sup> *Anchittydroog*.—Anchetnidurga, a village in Hosur Taluq of Salem District, about 15 miles south of Hosur town and about 40 miles south-west of Kadapanattam.

the junction; he was accordingly repulsed with severe loss, all his guns were captured, and he retreated with the utmost difficulty to Anicul. Mukhdoom was now closely besieged and reduced to great extremities; and the career of Hyder seemed again to be approaching its close, when a negotiation, which had been for some time open, with Visajee Pundit, was adjusted with a degree of facility and moderation which Hyder received with equal astonishment and delight. The conditions of the immediate departure of the Mahrattas were, the cession of the Baramahal, and the payment of the trifling sum of three lacs of rupees. The comparison of a few dates and facts will enable us to explain this unusual moderation.<sup>1</sup>

So early as the month of April Visajee Pundit had offered to aid both the French and the English; and in the latter end of November, the bishop of Halicarnassus was in his camp negotiating for the

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<sup>1</sup> The account of this transaction in Mile's History of Hydr Naick is interesting, pp. 88 and 89. "The Mahrattas now requested he would give up to them the Barh Mahal; and, as they strenuously insisted on this gift, Hydr, to please them, and as a temporary expedient, sent an order, written in the name of Asudkhan Mahkurri, the Foudar of Kishengiri, to give up the district of the Barh Mahl. Sealing it with his large seal, but without enclosing it in an envelope, he thus despatched it to the Mahrattas; and Esajee delighted to obtain it, and conceiving that all is gain which is saved out of a burning house, immediately marched from the vicinity of Bangalore.

Hydr now, with the rapidity of lightning, marched, and joined the force of Mahkdoom Sahib, and encamped outside the fortress of Bangalore, with his troops and stores. He then secretly wrote to the Foudar of the Barh Mahl, that it was merely with a view to expediency and his own security, that he had written an order to him, without an envelope, to give up the Barh Mahl district; but that he (the Foudar), was to keep his station, with all his force and ability, perfectly independent, and on no account to allow the Mahratta to enter or possess himself of the fort. The prudent Foudar, therefore, independent, and at his leisure, provided for the defence of his forts.

In the meantime, Esajee, the Beenee, arrived with his deceptive orders at Kishengiri, and forwarded it to the Foudar,

service of his troops ; of which the cession of Ginjee was, among other conditions, to be the chief price. M. Lally was then blockaded in Pondicherry by Colonel Coote ; and a primary condition was the payment of five lacs of rupees when this Mahratta army should appear in sight of Pondicherry\*. Mohammed Ali, seeing in the advance of this corps an insurmountable obstacle to the success of his English allies against Pondicherry, concluded an agreement with Visajee Pundit, early in the month of January, 1761, for the large sum of twenty lacs, to be paid at distant instalments, on the condition of his marching towards Poona with the least possible delay. This fact alone would sufficiently explain the apparent moderation of Visajee Pundit; his retreat was already purchased, although not yet paid for. Like a true Mahratta, he had first sold himself to Kundè Row, and then to his opponent Hyder : and he had made a

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with his own demand of the surrender of the fort. On receiving the order that able and obedient man demanded a repetition of it in his name, with the Signature of his master, and the impression of his private seal ; and further intimated, that he could never think of giving up forts and territory to a single order, and that not even enclosed in an envelope. When the Mahratta insisted on an authentic repetition of the order, Hyder plainly told him, that no order or signature should be repeated ; and the Mahratta saw, by such a manly answer, that his negotiation had been baffled, and that there was no use in squabbling about it, as the country could never be retained in his possession.

While he was in this distress, his intelligencers brought him information, that Hydur, with the troops of Meer Ali Buxa and Makhdoom Sâhib, had left, like a hungry lion, his lair in the fort of Bangalore, and had encamped on the plain of Yugni ; and that his eye was eagerly directed to his enemies, as to a flock of sheep. The heart of the Mahratta failed him when he heard this, and he marched off, without attaining his object."

\* It appears by an intercepted letter from M. Lally to M. Raymond, French resident at Paliacate, that he continued so late as the 2d of January to expect the arrival of seventeen thousand Mahrattas on the 6th of the same month.

[The letter in full will be found quoted in *A Life of Eyre Coote*, H. C. Wyllly : pp. 101-102.]

shew of selling himself to the French, in order that he might sell himself to the English and Mohammed Ali at a better price. But another cause of still greater urgency accelerated his departure. On the 7th of January, 1761, the Mahratta army of Hindostan, drawn by the Abdalli into a situation in which it was compelled to fight, was defeated at Paniput with circumstances of disaster and destruction which seemed to be nearly irretrievable.<sup>1</sup> The Mahratta forces from every direction were ordered to concentrate as if the Abdalli (who thought only of returning to the Indian Caucasus) were already at the gates of Poona; and Visajee Pundit, among others, had just received his secret orders of recal. Hyder's three lacs were paid; Mukhdoom Ali, relieved from his critical blockade, proceeded to Bangalore; and Visajee Pundit marched in haste to the northward. All this was inexplicable at the moment; but Hyder, although not yet aware of the exact causes of his good fortune, perceived symptoms of precipitancy which determined him to delay the delivery of any part of the Baramahal; and the intelligence of the defeat of Paniput, which public rumour soon afterwards conveyed, decided his plain and direct refusal, and confirmed the favourite doctrine of the fatalist, which teaches him ever to procrastinate when under the pressure of misfortune. 1761

In the mean while, Kundè Row had written in his own name, and that of the Raja, letters to the Government of Madras and all the neighbouring powers, explaining the expulsion of Hyder as an usurper, and disclaiming the hostilities which, at the same time that Mukhdoom was detached to Pondicherry, had been commenced in the vicinity of Madura and Trichinopoly. The frontier fort of Caroor,<sup>2</sup> forty miles west of Trichinopoly, had been in

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Pānīpat was fought on January 13th, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> *Caroor*.—Karur. A town, the head-quarters of the taluq of the same name, in Trichinopoly District, Madras, 210 miles

retaliation besieged by a detachment from that place; and the government and military officers of Fort St. George not knowing what they were to understand by the various and contradictory reports which they received, permitted the Mysorean commandant of Caroor to retire with his garrison on delivering up the possession of that place, and refrained from farther hostility until the English should be satisfied with regard to the actual state of the government of Mysoor. This officer was really a servant of Kundè Row; who had, with the greatest activity and intelligence, possessed himself of the whole of the lower country from Baramahal to Dindegul, that single fortress alone excepted.

Hyder, on the very day that he was joined by Mukhdoom Ali, pitched his own standard in the field, with a force so superior to that of Kundè Row, who had numerous detachments abroad, that he also ventured to make a considerable detachment into the lower countries of Salem and Coimbetoor, for the purpose of recovering the country and revenues wrested from him; which were to be his chief resource in the impending contest. He marched in a south-western direction, crossing the Caveri below its confluence with the Capilee near Sosilla,<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of covering the operations of his detachment, and preventing Kundè Row from sending reinforcements through either of the passes of Caveriporum or Gujjelhutty. This detachment rendered the force under Hyder's immediate command inferior in

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from Madras, near the the Kaveri river, 45 miles west of Trichinopoly; frequently attacked and occupied by Mysore armies. In 1736 Chanda Saheb besieged it unsuccessfully. In 1760 it was captured by the English and held till 1768, when it was retaken by Hyder Ali. The fort is now demolished. It stands in an open undulating plain with no hills and only a few insignificant rocky extensions.

<sup>1</sup> *Sosilla*.—Sosile, a large village, in Mysore District, on the left bank of the Kaveri at its confluence with the Kabbani river. The Kabbani river is also called the Kapini or Kapila river.

numbers to that of Kundè Row, but he relied with confidence on its superior quality; for a French detachment, which was in the field between Thiagar and the hills for the purpose of collecting and covering supplies, had, on ascertaining the probable fall of Pondicherry, drawn farther to the westward; and on receiving intelligence of its actual surrender on the 16th of January had joined Hyder at Bangalore. It consisted of two hundred cavalry and one hundred infantry, all Europeans, under the command of M. Alain and M. Hugel, and some scattered detachments of natives. Kundè Row, who saw the consequence of this judicious movement, determined to give him battle, and came in sight of the troops of Hyder in the neighbourhood of Nunjendgode, about twenty-seven miles south of Seringapatam.

The troops which were to decide the fate of a kingdom were reduced by detachments to the small number, on the side of Hyder, of six thousand horse and five thousand foot, with twenty guns; and on that of Kundè Row to seven thousand horse and six thousand foot, with twenty-eight guns. For several days the two bodies rather manœvred than fought, with some loss on both sides, but no decisive result, and, in the opinion of many officers who were present, with very superior skill as well as uniform advantage on the part of Kundè Row; who, early in February, brought on a more decisive action. Hyder in vain attempted to avoid this decision with a view of obtaining reinforcements, which too late he perceived to be necessary. The favourite object of Kunde Row in his various encounters was to compel Hyder's infantry to change its front, and to charge it when in the act of performing that evolution. On this occasion his success was considerable, and Hyder was defeated with very heavy loss, but retired in tolerably good order towards Hurdanhelly.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Hurdanhelly*.—Hardanahalli, a village about 27 miles south-east of Nanjangud, in the Mysore District.



Nothing but a confidence in powers of simulation, altogether unrivalled, could have suggested to Hyder the step which he next pursued. With a select body of two hundred horse, including about seventy French hussars under M. Hugel, he made a circuitous march by night; and early on the next morning, unarmed, and alone, presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nunjeraj at Cunnoor,<sup>1</sup> and being admitted, threw himself at his feet. With the semblance of real penitence and grief, he attributed all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nunjeraj; entreated him to resume the direction of public affairs, and take his old servant once more under his protection. Nunjeraj was completely deceived; and with his remaining household troops, which, during the present troubles, he had augmented to two thousand horse and about an equal number of indifferent infantry, he gave to the ruined fortunes of Hyder the advantage of his name and influence; announcing in letters dispatched in every direction his determination to exercise the office of Serv Adikar, which he still nominally retained, with Hyder as his Dulwoy, or commander-in-chief. Hyder, on leaving his army, had given directions for hanging on the rear of Kundè Row in the event of his making a

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<sup>1</sup> This account of the visit of Hyder to Nunjeraj at Konanur differs from that given by Kirmani in the History of Hydur Naick by Miles. He describes Hyder at the head of his victorious troops marching towards Periyapatna to meet Nunjeraj, and receiving on his way letters from the Raja begging him to return to Seringapatam and restore order. Hyder kept the letters, and replied in a conciliatory tone and went on to visit Nunjeraj, whom he found anxious to assist him in displacing Khunde Rao, the unscrupulous and ungrateful Brahmin. Nunjeraj aided Hyder by reinforcements and defeated Khunde Rao, who fled to Seringapatam. Nothing is said of Hyder's defeat, nor of his appearing as a suppliant before Nunjeraj. No doubt Kirmani thought it best to omit all references to the incident related by Wilks. (Cf. Miles : *History of Hydur Naick*, pp. 89-94.)

movement towards Cunnoor; which, on receiving intelligence of the above stated facts, he of course considered to be his primary object. Hyder attempted by various movements to form a junction with his army, which Kunde Row, by more skilful evolutions, prevented, and pressed forward with such vigour, that the destruction of Hyder and his new friends appeared to be inevitable, when he was extricated by one of those instances of his talent for intrigue and deception which seems to have constituted the leading feature of his character, and to have influenced, more than any other, the whole tenour of his eventful life.

The movements to which we have adverted brought Kundè Row to Kuttè Malwaddy<sup>1</sup>, twenty-six miles S.W. from Seringapatam, about the 20th of February: and Hyder, closely pursued, was about ten miles in his front, when he prepared in the *name* and with the *seal* of *Nunjeraj* letters addressed to the principal leaders of Kundè Row's army: these letters adverted to a supposed engagement which they had made to seize Kundè Row and deliver him to Nunjeraj; they promised, on his part, to perform the conditions of the stipulated reward; and concluded with the observation, that nothing now remained but that they should immediately earn it.

The bearer of these letters departed duly instructed, and falling purposely into the hands of the outposts was carried to Kundè Row; who, entertaining not the least suspicion of the artifice, conceived that he was betrayed by his own army, and, seized with a sudden panic, instantly mounted his horse, and escaped at full speed to Seringapatam, without any previous communication with the suspected chiefs. The flight of the commander-in-chief being quickly known, a general agitation ensued; the more dangerous as the motive was utterly unknown: and

<sup>1</sup> *Kuttè Malwaddy*.—Katte Malalvādi, the village no longer exists. It was near the Kabbani river, west of Nanjangud.

every person began to provide for his safety by flight, without any one being able to communicate to the other the cause of his alarm. Hyder's light troops brought him early intelligence of the state of the enemy; and at this instant his army, by a preconcerted movement, appeared in the rear of Kundè Row's, while he moved his own corps to attack the front; and by falling upon it with his whole force, in this state of dismay and confusion, he obtained a complete and decisive victory, capturing the whole of the enemy's infantry, guns, stores, and baggage. The horse alone had by an early flight provided for their safety, and the infantry were incorporated without much reluctance into the army of the victor.<sup>1</sup>

Hyder, by another stratagem, affected not to pursue his success; and halting four or five days at Cuttee Malwaddy, under pretence of being occupied in making detachments for the collection of revenue, found, by means of his spies, that the fugitives, deceived by this demonstration, were encamped in a disorderly manner, along with some infantry which they had begun to collect, on the island of Seringapatam, between the south bridge and the Mysoor gate. Hyder made a silent and unsuspected march with a select body, and falling upon this rabble at midnight put the greater part of them to the sword, and retired before the garrison was prepared to disturb his retreat, carrying off upwards of seven hundred horses and a large booty.

Hyder did not consider it advisable to prosecute his ultimate operation at Seringapatam until he had secured the whole of the resources of the lower country, which continued to oppose his detachments.

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<sup>1</sup> Meer Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani, omitting all reference to this intrigue of Hyder, makes the confusion in Khunde Rao's force the result of a panic created at night by his horses having broken their heel ropes and by neighing and kicking, and so creating alarm in the camp. (*Of. Miles: History of Hyder Naick*, p. 92.)

He therefore descended the pass of Gujjelhutty, took the fort of Erroad<sup>1</sup>, and all others which had been seized by Kundè Row or had declared for him (Caroor alone excepted, which remained for the present without discussion in the hands of the English), and levied a large contribution on his partizans. By the time that these arrangements were finished he had completed also the levies of his army, and had called in all his detachments. Every thing being now ready for the execution of his plan, he ascended the Ghauts in force, and early in the month of May arrived at Chendgâl,<sup>2</sup> on the south bank of the Caveri opposite the centre of the island of Seringapatam; where, affecting to deprecate farther hostility, he appeared to be entirely absorbed in negotiations with Kundè Row; the remnant of whose cavalry, chiefly Mahratta, and still amounting to between five and six thousand, were encamped with a corps of infantry on the island, south of the fort, and partly under the guns: Hyder, on the opposite bank of the river, which was then fordable, made every evening a shew of exercising his troops till after sunset. On the eighth day of this tacit armistice, instead of dismissing them as usual, he made a sudden dash across the river as if in the performance of an evolution of the parade, and carried destruction into the enemy's camp by complete surprise, capturing the whole of their heavy equipments and most of their horses. This enterprize completed the ruin of Kundè Row's field force; and Hyder, with the air of a conqueror already assured of his object, encamped, more

<sup>1</sup> *Erroad*.—Erode, a town in Coimbatore District, Madras, close to the Kaveri river at the extreme east of the district. It was an important town in the time of Hyder, but was almost deserted in consequence of successive Mysore and British invasions. After 1790, when it was finally recaptured by the British, it grew in importance, having advantages in its position and fertility and is now a flourishing town.

<sup>2</sup> *Chendgâl*.—Chandagalu, a small village on the south bank of the Kaveri, opposite Seringapatam.

in the style of a triumph than a military operation, across the island, on the ground now occupied by Sheher Gunjaum.

From hence he dispatched a message to the Raja, intimating in substance, "that Kundè Row was the servant of Hyder, and ought to be given up to him : that large balances were due to Hyder by the state, and ought to be liquidated. After the payment of these arrears, if the Raja should be pleased to continue him in his service, it was well ; if not, he would depart, and seek his fortune elsewhere."

Such were the terms of his formal communication to the Raja. To the persons holding public offices he conveyed the object of his demands, and the consequences of rejection, in a more distinct manner. Many of these persons had long held the most important offices of the government, and had benefited largely by the laxity and corruption which had prevailed : they were accordingly more occupied with the means of securing their private fortunes than by considerations affecting the fate of Kundè Row, the rights of the Raja, or the safety of the state. Such principles opposed but slender impediments to the designs of the conqueror, who had signified his pleasure that the full extent of his meditated usurpation should, in the last bitterness of mockery, appear to be the spontaneous act of the Raja himself : that unfortunate personage was readily made to understand that the danger was imminent, that no means existed of paying the balances, or making any appropriation of funds for their speedy liquidation ; and that one only arrangement remained which could afford the hope of averting more dreadful calamities. A proposal for carrying that arrangement into effect was, in this moment of terror, transmitted to Hyder in the name, and with the concurrence, of the Raja ; namely, 1st. That districts to the amount of three lacs should be reserved for the Raja's personal

expences, and one lac for Nunjeraj : 2d. That Hyder should assume the management of the remainder of the country, and charge himself with the responsibility of defraying the arrears, and providing for the pay of the army and public charges of every description ; and 3d. That Kundè Row should be given up to him.

This heavy load of care and responsibility was of course most reluctantly but dutifully undertaken, and Hyder waited on the Raja about the beginning of June with all the forms of mock submission and respect ; and from this moment his usurpation was complete. The solemn, affecting, and well-acted interview with Nunjeraj at Cunnoor was consigned to convenient oblivion, or revived in ridiculous forms for the amusement of his convivial hours ; and that weak and credulous man, after the first impressions had subsided, seemed scarcely to have expected any other result.

Kundè Row was given up, and confined : and his official servants, as well as himself, were of course plundered to the utmost extent of their means. Before it had been determined that Kundè Row should be surrendered, a joint message was sent to Hyder from the Raja and the ladies of the palace, praying for mercy towards that unfortunate man as a preliminary, to the adjustment of public affairs. Hyder replied, that Kundè Row was his old servant, and that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a parroquet ; a term of endearment common in conversing with women, from that bird being a favourite pet in the harems of the wealthy. When he was afterwards gently admonished of his severity to Kundè Row, he ironically replied, that he had exactly kept his word ; and that they were at liberty to inspect his *iron cage*, and the rice and milk allotted for his food ; for such was the fate to which he had doomed Kundè Row for the remainder of his miserable life.

The arrangements consequent on the usurpation occupied upwards of two months, and Hyder, having appointed his brother-in-law, Mukhdoom Aly Khan, killedar of Seringapatam with a garrison of his most trusty troops, took leave of the Raja with the usual formalities early in September, and proceeded towards Bangalore, where other events demanded his presence.

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## CHAPTER XII.

From 1761 to 1766

*Circumstances which led to the march of Basalut Jung to the south—and induced Hyder to move to Bangalore—Basalut Jung is foiled in the siege of Ooscota—Negotiation by which Hyder is invested with the office of Nabob of Sera : its ludicrous circumstances—Title of Hyder Ali Khan Behauder—Capture of Ooscota—Hyder's revenge for an outrage sustained in his infancy from Abbas Couli Khan—kindness to his family—United armies move to Sera, and after its capture separate—their respective motives and objects—Hyder moves to Little Balipoor—spirited defence—Morari Row moves to its relief—is defeated—Capitulation for the ransom of Balipoor—broken by the Poligar, who retires to Nundidroog—Balipoor is garrisoned by Morari Row's troops, and carried by assault—Hyder extends his conquests over the territory of Morari Row—returns to Sera—receives the submission of the Poligars of Raidroog, Harponelly, and Chittledroog—Singular impostor from Bednore—engages Hyder to invade that country—its description—Hyder's proceedings and progress—conquest of the capital—immense plunder—capture and imprisonment of the Queen, the young Raja, and the impostor—Design of making Bednore his capital—arrangements with that view—Conspiracy detected—characteristic punishments—Conquest of Soonda—Arrival of Reza Ali, the son of Ohunda Saheb—Military improvements—public etiquette—Embassies to Poona and Hyderabad—objects and result—Designs regarding Savanoor—*



*invasion of that province—defeat of the Nabob—  
 military contribution—Hyder returns to Bednore—  
 his general extends his conquests to the north—  
 Proceedings of the Peshwa Madoo Row—his ad-  
 vanced corps defeated—advance of the main army  
 —relative force—and plans of operation—Action  
 of Rettehully—entrenched camp at Anawutty—  
 Defeat of a detachment commanded by Hyder in  
 person—Operations suspended by the monsoon—  
 renewed—Madoo Row compels Hyder to abandon  
 his entrenched camp and fight at a disadvantage—  
 signal defeat—and retreat to the lines of Bednore  
 —discovers his injudicious choice for a capital—  
 Peace with Madoo Row—views of the parties  
 regarding its conditions—Insurrections in the  
 eastern provinces—detachments to quell them—  
 capture of the Poligar of Little Balipoor—Hyder  
 prepares for the conquest of Malabar—Communi-  
 cations with Ali Raja, a Mohammedan chief—  
 Notices of these Mohammedans—Military cha-  
 racter and habits of the Nairs—Hyder's success-  
 ful progress—Negotiation with the Zamorin—  
 deception—Extraordinary suicide—Arrangements  
 for securing the conquest—moves to Coimbetoor—  
 General insurrection in Malabar—Hyder returns  
 —dreadful executions—forcible emigration—ap-  
 parent restoration of tranquillity—returns to  
 Coimbetoor—Intelligence of a confederacy of the  
 Mahrattas, Nizam Ali, and the English to invade  
 Mysoor—Hyder proceeds to Seringapatam—  
 Death of the former Raja and succession of his  
 son—Harsh treatment and farther restraint—  
 Causes of the war of 1767 to be explained in the  
 ensuing chapter—Previous observations on the  
 treaty of Paris.*

**WE** left Basalut Jung, in December 1759, at Kurpa,  
 distinctly unfolding, in his negotiation with  
 Monsieur Bussy, his views of independent sovereignty

in the south, and his desire, if he could effect that object without compromising his independence, of obtaining the aid of the French to oppose the better fortunes of his brother Nizam Ali, who had supplanted him as the minister and general of their elder brother Salabut Jung, still pageant Soubadar of the Deckan, but destined in 1761 to be imprisoned, and in two years afterwards to be murdered, by Nizam Ali.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1760 Nizam Ali was engaged in a defensive and unsuccessful campaign against the Peshwa Balajee Row, between the rivers Kistna and Godaveri : and as Basalut Jung could scarcely move in any direction beyond the limits of his personal jageer without coming in contact with some Mahratta territory, dependency, or army, and he found it expedient to maintain an amicable intercourse with the actual opponents of his rival, the early part of that year was passed by him in a state of inaction at Adwanee. The great efforts which were made by the Mahrattas in the middle and end of that year to collect forces for the impending contest, which terminated on the 7th of January 1761 in the disastrous battle of Paniput, seemed to leave a more open field for his exertion : and in the month of August 1760 he began, in the ordinary process of eastern sovereignty, to draw within the circle of his own possessions the most convenient and accessible fragments of the shattered states around him. The success

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<sup>1</sup> In 1759 the Mahrattas attacked Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali, and in 1760, Nizam Ali concluded a treaty under the terms of which Dowlatabad, Bijapur and other forts were given up with territory the annual revenue of which amounted to sixty-two lakhs of rupees. In 1762 Nizam Ali imprisoned Salabat Jung at Beder, after he had again attacked and driven back the Mahrattas and recovered from them districts round Aurangabad and Beder. Fifteen months after, he secured his own usurpation by the murder of his brother, "whose natural imbecility would have prevented his ever becoming a formidable rival whilst unsupported by a foreign power." (Grant Duff : *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. I, p. 536.)

of this his first independent campaign was in its commencement encouraging: although occasionally checked, he had considerably enlarged his limits, and about the month of June 1761 had planned the reduction of Sera,\* then in the possession of the Mahrattas, but formerly the capital of a Nabob or provincial governor, dependent on the Soubadar of the Deckan. He reconnoitred the citadel, but thought it most prudent to pass it. His military chest required more rapid supplies than were promised by its siege; and he moved farther south, over an undulating country, alternately strong and open: the plainer parts having been fortified against sudden incursion by walls and towers of kneaded clay, which surround every village.

It was the approach of this force which called Hyder from Seringapatam, immediately after the completion of his usurpation; and on his arrival at Bangalore he found that Basalut Jung was engaged in the siege of Ooscota.<sup>1</sup> This place, which had belonged, as we have seen, to the Mahratta house of Shahjee, had afterwards passed into the possession of the Patan Nabob of Kurpa, and in 1757 had been captured

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\* A pavilion on a diminutive scale, but exhibiting considerable taste, built by the last Nabob Dilavar Khan, is still standing at Sera, and is the model followed in the erection of those splendid palaces built by Hyder and Tippoo at Bangalore and Seringapatam.

[*Sera*.—Sira, a town in the Tumkur District, Mysore. It was taken by the Bijapur State, by their General Randulha Khan. In 1687 when Bijapur was taken by Aurangzeb, Sira became the capital of a new province, extending over a large area in the east of the present Mysore State. Sira was taken from Dilavar Khan, the last of the Mughal Governors, in 1757 by the Mahrattas. In 1761, Hyder, having entered into alliance with Basalat Jang, received from him the title of Nawab of Sira. Sira attained its highest prosperity under Dilavar Khan and is said then to have contained 50,000 houses. The buildings he erected are now, all of them, in ruins. The place was often written as *Sirpi* or *Shirpi*.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ooscota*.—Hoskote, a town 16 miles E.N.E. of Bangalore. It possesses a large tank, with an embankment two miles long, and a sheet of water not less than ten miles round.

by Balajee Row, in the same campaign in which he made the conquest of Sera. The fortifications were in the rude style of the village bulwarks, but it possessed the advantage from nature of being unassailable on one face, and was defended by a garrison which defied and derided the attempts of Basalut Jung to subdue them. The mortification of being thus foiled was extreme; the military chest was empty, and the period was favourable to Hyder's views. Ooscota is distant only eighteen miles from Bangalore in a north-eastern direction: the first communications were rapidly arranged, and Fuzzul Oolla Khan was sent as Hyder's ambassador to the camp of Basalut Jung. The distress of this chief, and the whole character of the negotiation, may be inferred from the fact that for a nezer<sup>1</sup> of three lacs of rupees, he agreed to invest Hyder with the office of Nabob of Sera; an office, a country, and a capital, which were yet to be conquered! The alleged rights which Hyder acquired from this instrument of investiture have been gravely discussed and defended. The right of the grantor seems to have been inferred from the act of granting, for no other source of right can be readily discovered: the right of the sword, to which most political claims may be ultimately traced, was absolutely wanting in this case; and the decision of this arbiter, pronounced three years afterwards by Nizam Ali, de facto Soubadar, or ruler of the Deckan, shewed his sense of the authority of Basalut Jung, by restricting him by force of arms to the single district of Adwanee.\* An incident occurred during the communications with Basalut Jung, which furnishes an additional feature in the character of Hyder, and illustrates the ludicrous turn which was given to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Neser*.—Nusser, Arab. *Nazar*, a vow or votive offering; but, in ordinary use, a ceremonial present, properly an offering from an inferior to a superior. (*Hobson Jobson*.)

\* He was besieged in Kurnool in 1764, and capitulated on these conditions.

whole transaction. In the course of the negotiation, Basalut Jung proposed, with a view of obtaining a larger sum from Hyder, to honour him with a title of the order distinguished by its terminating Persian word "*Jung*" (war). Among the lowest vulgar this word is pronounced *Zung*, which also signifies the tinkling circular kind of bell, commonly strung round the necks of camels and oxen; and Hyder, among other remains of the society of his youth, retained this faulty pronunciation. When Fuzzul Oolla Khan came with this proposition, Hyder laughed in his face, and repeating four or five times the word *Zung*, "Let me have nothing to do with your ornaments of a beast of burden," said he, "but if the great man insists on giving such a decoration, you may take it to yourself." Fuzzul Oolla, who loved a title, and was not fastidious in scrutinizing authorities, took Hyder at his word; and returning to Ooscota did receive the title of *Hybut Jung* (terror of war), which he ever afterwards retained.

The sunnuds,<sup>1</sup> or deeds of investiture, were however executed in due form, and the title of *Nabob*, and name of *Hyder Ali Khan Behauder*, by which he was designated in those deeds, were certainly thenceforth assumed by Hyder. On receiving these honours, he in October united his army to that before Ooscota, and in a few days gave to the great Basalut Jung the honour of being the reputed captor of a mud fort.\*

An object of personal revenge, which the impressions of infancy† and youth had strongly fixed in the memory of Hyder, next engaged his attention. Basalut Jung had, in the course of negotiation, wished

<sup>1</sup> *Sunnud*.—Hind., from Arab. *Sanad*, a diploma, patent, or deed of grant by the government of office, privilege or right. (*Hobson Jobson*.)

\* "*Mud fort*," from the usually imperfect construction of the village defences, is a term of contempt in India, although the substance itself (kneaded clay) resists the effects of cannon-shot better than any other material.

† For the incident alluded to, see p. 269.

to exclude from the enumerations contained in the deeds Great Balipoor, the jageer of Abbas Cooli Khan ; but Hyder broadly answered, that his honours were worthless if they excluded a full and a deep revenge : that he accepted and paid for the sunnuds as a mutual accommodation, not from any diffidence of being able to achieve his own objects without them ; and that another syllable indicating the exclusion of Balipoor should terminate the negotiation. Abbas Cooli Khan was anxiously attentive to Hyder's late proceedings ; and on hearing of the junction of the two armies he distinctly saw his peril, and fled with the utmost precipitation to Madras, a distance of 220 miles, leaving his family to their fate.\* Hyder's conduct to the family of Abbas Cooli Khan is among the very few examples in the history of his life, of any remote tendency towards the amiable feelings of human nature. On entering without opposition the fort of Balipoor, and hearing that the object of his vengeance had escaped, he presented himself at the gate of the dowager, the widow of his father's lords, but the mother of the fugitive. In a message, full of gentleness and delicacy, he shewed a remembrance of kindnesses conferred in the days of his infancy, and assured her of his gratitude and respect ; and although he appropriated, without hesitation, every thing that for political purposes might be considered as public property ; he entirely verified his assurances to the dowager, and continued through life to treat the unoffending branches of her family with distinction and generosity.

From Balipoor the united armies moved to Sera, which made but a feeble resistance. Hyder achieved, without much delay, the conquest of his new dignities and capital, and the allied chiefs took leave of each

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\* Such was his terror, that when Hyder in 1769 presented himself at the gates of Madras, he embarked in a crazy vessel, and did not venture to land until Hyder's army had reascended the passes of the mountains.

1762. other about the beginning of the year 1762. During the inefficient operations of Basalut Jung in the south, Salabut Jung had been imprisoned on the 18th July, 1761, by Nizam Ali, who openly assumed the office of Soubadar: it was then no longer the indirect influence, but the actual power of that chief, which was to be guarded against by Basalut Jung; and the vigorous preparations of his brother made it expedient that he should be nearer home, to attend to the eventual defence of Adwanee; he therefore departed, little enriched, to the north, while Hyder moved in a south-eastern direction, where other objects demanded his attention.

The dominions of Morari Row, the Mahratta chief of Gooti, were situated to the north-east of Hyder's new acquisition; their southern extremity was bounded by the small territory of the Poligar of Little Balipoor.<sup>1</sup> This capital of his little state, and the usual residence of the Poligar, is situated fourteen miles to the eastward of Great Balipoor, recently acquired by Hyder, and twelve miles to the north of Deonhully,\*

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<sup>1</sup> *Little Balipoor*.—Chick-Ballapur, a town in the Kolar District, Mysore, about 30 miles north of Bangalore. The fort was held by a chief under the Vijayanagar Rajas. His descendants continued to hold the fort against the attacks made from time to time by the Rajas of Mysore.

\* The mention of this place leads me to notice a sect in this neighbourhood, so singular in their habits that I subjoin a description of them which I gave in a letter to a friend in the year 1805. This legendary tale will furnish an example of the wild mythology which the attentive Indian traveller will find luxuriantly strewed on every step of his progress.

"In passing from the town of Silgut to Deonhully in the month of August last, I became accidentally informed of a sect, peculiar, as I since understand, to the north-eastern parts of Myscor, the women of which universally undergo the amputation of the first joints of the third and fourth fingers of their right hands. On my arrival at Deonhully, after ascertaining that the request would not give offence, I desired to see some of these women, and the same afternoon seven of them attended at my tent.

his former frontier stations. The conquest of Little Balipoor had been long and anxiously desired by Hyder. The Poligar of Deonhully had, on the surrender of that place in 1749; capitulated on the condition of being permitted to retire in safety to his relation at Little Balipoor : the family had since that period been engaged in incessant plots to recover that place, and Hyder conceived the reduction of Little Balipoor to be indispensable to the safety of this part of his frontier. He approached the place, and the Poligar, who had the free option of retiring to the impregnable rock of Nundidroog, distant only three

"The sect is a subdivision of the *Murresoo wokul*,\* and belongs to the fourth great class of Hindoos, viz. the Souder. Every woman of the sect, previously to piercing the ears of her eldest daughter, preparatory to her being betrothed in marriage, must necessarily undergo this mutilation, which is performed by the blacksmith of the village for a regulated fee, by a surgical process sufficiently rude. The finger to be amputated is placed on a block : the blacksmith places a chisel over the articulation of the joint, and chops it off at a single blow. If the girl to be betrothed is motherless, and the mother of the boy have not before been subjected to the operation, it is incumbent on her to perform the sacrifice.

"After satisfying myself with regard to the facts of the case, I enquired into the origin of so strange a practice, and one of the women related with great fluency the following traditionary tale, which has since been repeated to me with no material deviation by several others of the sect.

"A Rachas (or giant), named *Vrica*, and in after times *Bum-aasoor*, or the giant of the ashes, had, by a course of austere devotion to *Mahadeo*,† obtained from him the promise of whatever boon he should ask. The Rachas accordingly demanded, that every person on whose head he should place his right hand might instantly be reduced to ashes ; and Mahadeo conferred the boon, without suspicion of the purpose for which it was designed. ✓

"The Rachas no sooner found himself possessed of this formidable power. than he attempted to use it for the destruction of his benefactor. Mahadeo fled ; the Rachas pursued, and followed the fugitive so closely as to chase him into a thick grove, where

\* *Murresoo*, or *Mursoo*, in the Hala Canara signifies *rude, uncivilised—wokul*, a husbandman.

† *Siva*.



miles, thought proper to await the attack, in the nearly open town of Little Balipoor, which is provided with a weak citadel, so placed, that an assailant must previously possess himself of the town. Regular science, in its legitimate application to the defence of places, is calculated to protract resistance, but in its practical effects it seems more frequently to have excused or accelerated their fall. This Poligar verified the better doctrine that all places are impregnable, so long as the moral energies of its defenders can be upheld. He contested every inch of ground in this open town ; every successive house became a fortress ; and

Mahadeo, changing his form and bulk, concealed himself in the centre of a fruit then called *tunda pundoo*, but since named *linga tunda*, from the resemblance which its kernel thenceforward assumed to the *ling*, the appropriate emblem of Mahadeo.

"The Rachas having lost sight of Mahadeo, enquired of a husbandman who was working in the adjoining field, whether he had seen the fugitive, and what direction he had taken. The husbandman, who had attentively observed the whole transaction, fearful of the future resentment of Mahadeo, and equally alarmed for the present vengeance of the giant, answered aloud that he had seen no fugitive, but pointed at the same time with the little finger of his right hand to the place of Mahadeo's concealment.

"In this extremity\* Vishnou descended in the form of a beautiful damsel to the rescue of Mahadeo. The Rachas became instantly enamoured : the damsel was a *pure* bramin, and might not be approached by the *unclean* Rachas. By degrees she appeared to relent ; and as a previous condition to farther advances, enjoined the performance of his ablutions in a neighbouring pool. After these were finished, she prescribed as a farther purification the performance of the *Sundia*, a ceremony in which the right hand is successively applied to the breast, to the crown of the head, and to other parts of the body. The Rachas thinking only of love, and forgetful of the powers of his right hand, performed the *Sundia*, and was himself reduced to ashes.

"Mahadeo now issued from the *linga tunda*, and after the proper acknowledgments for his deliverance, proceeded to discuss the guilt of the treacherous husbandman, and determined on the loss of the finger with which he had offended, as the proper punishment of his crime.

"The wife of the husbandman, who had just arrived at the

at the expiration of two months Hyder could scarcely yet be said to have commenced the siege of *the citadel*. The spirit of the defenders was kept at its stretch by the expectation of relief from Morari Row, whose aid had been previously secured, and who was now approaching the place. Hyder's superior numbers enabled him to leave a strong corps for the maintenance of his ground, and by an unexpected movement of the remainder of his army against Morari Row, to give him a signal defeat. The Poligar was now left to his own resources; the place was completely invested; and the spirit of enterprise and defiance which

field with food for her husband, hearing this dreadful sentence, threw herself at the feet of Mahadeo. She represented the certain ruin of her family if her husband should be disabled for some months from performing the labours of the farm, and besought the deity to accept two of her fingers, instead of one from her husband. Mahadeo, pleased with so sincere a proof of conjugal affection, accepted the exchange, and ordained that her female posterity in all future generations should sacrifice two fingers at his temple as a memorial of the transaction, and of their exclusive devotion to the god of the ling.

"The practice is accordingly confined to the supposed posterity of this single woman, and is not common to the whole sect of Murresoo wokul. I ascertained the actual number of families who observed this practice in three successive districts through which I afterwards passed, and I conjecture that within the limits of Mysoor they may amount to about two thousand houses.

"The hill of *Seetee*, in the talook of Colar, where the giant was destroyed, is (according to this tradition) formed of the ashes of Busmaasoor: it is held in particular veneration by this sect, as the chief seat of their appropriate sacrifice; and the fact of its retaining little or no moisture, is held to be a miraculous proof that the ashes of the giant continue to absorb the most violent and continued rain. This is a remarkable example of easy credulity. I have examined the mountain, which is of a sloping form and composed of coarse granite.

"The name of *Seetee* is stated by the bramins of the vicinity to be an abbreviation of *Sree-puttee-Shweragerree*, or the hill of the husband of *Sree\** and *Ishwara†*.

"Siva's adventure with the giant of the ashes is stated by

\* Letchmee, the wife of Vishnou.

† Siva, or Mahadeo.

the garrison had hitherto maintained was succeeded by despondency. Negotiation ensued, and an agreement for ransom was concluded for the sum of nine lacs of rupees. It was not expected that so large a sum could be paid down without some time for its realization ; and Hyder, not unwilling to draw off from the pestilential consequences of the close conflict in the town, encamped on the plain near Deonhully to wait the arrangements for payment. The Poligar had no sooner got rid of his presence, than, in conformity to a previous agreement, a body of Morari Row's troops was thrown into the place, and the

these bramins to be related in one of the Puranas,\* with some change in the circumstances, which does not seem to improve its merit as a tale. The flight of Siva is continued through the seven lower and seven upper regions to *Vicunta*, the paradise of Vishnou, who there appears in the form of a young Bramin, and with the aid of *Maya* (delusion) persuades the giant that Siva never yet uttered a truth, and that the boon was fallacious, as he might easily ascertain by placing his right hand on his own head.

Swatadry, or Belacul (the white mountain), a temple near the south-eastern frontier of Mysoor, claims, in common with many other places, the honour of possessing the ashes of Busmaasoor ; and I am informed that the descent of Vishnou in the form of a damsel, as stated by the *Murresoo wokul*, is related in the *Sthalla Purana*, or local history of the origin of that temple ; but the bramins whom I have consulted have not been able to trace in any document the incident of the husbandman and his wife, nor the existence of any written authority for the sacrifice practised by this extraordinary sect.

"It is not a little remarkable, that neither the Dewan of Mysoor, nor any of his suite, nor of the bramins belonging to the resident's office, had ever heard of this singular practice, or were acquainted with the existence of this subdivision of the sect of *Murresoo wokul*."

[According to the *Gazetteer of Mysore*, the *Morasu* are a sect of the *Wokkaligas*, a numerous agricultural group in Mysore. A section of them called *Beral-Koduva* (or finger-giving) had the custom mentioned, now put a stop to by Government. Since its prohibition the women content themselves with putting on a gold or silver finger-stall or thimble, which is pulled off instead of

Poligar, with his family, ascended the impregnable rock of Nundidroog,<sup>1</sup> distant only three miles, and overlooking the whole country. It was his project to leave Hyder to waste himself anew in a contest with fresh troops; and when the garrison should begin to flag, to descend once more with his select followers, and by a vigorous effort finally compel his enemy to raise the siege.

Hyder was enraged at finding himself the dupe of this deception, and returned with renewed ardour to the attack. The spiritless defence of a mercenary garrison did not long protract the fate of the place:

the end of the finger itself. The principal sanctuary of the Morasu Wokkaligas is at Sitti-betta in the Kolar Taluq, where there is a temple of Virabhadra. The sect is largely represented in the Balaghat, in the Madras Presidency, and according to Mr. Le Fanu, the author of the *Manual of the Salem District*, the practice of amputation existed up to 1883. 'I doubt whether this is correct. I served in the district a few years later and never heard of the practice. It has no doubt died out.

Reference may be made to *Ancient Hunters*, by W. J. Sollas, Macmillan, pp. 412-422. The custom of amputating the little finger, which still prevails among tribes in some parts of Australia, is widely spread among primitive people in all parts of the world. Professor Sollas gives the following list of references to the custom in India. Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, London, 1810, 4to, Vol. I, p. 441; F. Buchanan (Hamilton): *East India Gazetteer*, 1815, and *A Journey from Madras*, 1807, Vol. I, p. 319; *Indian Antiquary*, 1873, Vol. II; *Manual of the Salem District*, 1883; F. Fawcett on the "Berulu Kodo, a subsect of the Moras Vokkaligaru of the Mysore Province," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1889, Vol. I, pp. 449-474; *Census Report*, 1891; Abbé Dubois: *Hindu Manners and Customs*, 1897, p. 27; *Madras Government Museum*, 1903, Bull. 3, Vol. IV, p. 193; E. Thurston and R. Rangachari: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 1909, Vol. V, p. 75.]

<sup>1</sup> *Nundidroog*.—Nandidrug a famous fortified hill, 31 miles north of Bangalore, at the termination of a range of hills, of which it is the highest point, running north to Penukonda and the Bellary District. The summit is 4,851 feet above the level of the sea. It used to be a resort in the hot season for European officials from Bangalore.

in about ten days it was carried by assault, and its future defence was committed to Budru Zeman Khan, a neyayet officer of reputation from Arcot, who had entered the service of Hyder in the course of this campaign. Hyder made no immediate attempt on Nundidroog, but left a light corps under his maternal uncle Ibrahim Saheb, whose head-quarters were at Bangalore, with orders to destroy the surrounding country, and, in communication with the garrisons of Deonhully and Little Balipoor, to cut off the access of supplies. With the double view of furthering this object, and retaliating on Morari Row, he extended his conquest over a considerable sweep of country to the northward of this recent acquisition, and to the eastward of his former frontier, including Coodiconda, Penconda (the former capital of Carnatic), and Merg Sera.<sup>1</sup> Morari Row acknowledged the decisive nature of the defeat which he had sustained by retiring to his capital of Gooti; and Hyder now considered his arrangements to be in a proper state for revisiting the capital of his new dignities, profiting by its direct territorial possessions, and by the submission of its reputed dependants. The chief of these were the Poligars of Raidroog,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These three places are in the south-west of Anantapur District, Madras. *Penukonda*, the headquarter of the taluq of the same name; formerly the capital of the Vijayanagar dynasty after 1564. The town is strongly fortified and commands the passes up to the Mysore plateau. *Kudikonda*, a village in the Hindupur Taluq, 19 miles east of Hindupur; formerly a flourishing town; the small rock is fortified, the ruins of the jail, the court, and the former judge's bungalow can still be seen. *Madakasira*, the headquarters of the taluq of the same name; it was formerly held by a Poligar, who held it under the Vijayanagar government. The Mahrattas took the fort in 1791 under Murari Rao, who built the fort and palace. The rock is strongly fortified, standing in a country which is very hilly; the valleys are very fertile and irrigated by numerous wells, with good plantations of areca palms and fruit gardens.

<sup>2</sup> *Raidroog*.—Rayadrug, a village, the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in Bellary District, Madras, 22 miles

Harponelly<sup>1</sup>, and Chittledroog, situated to the north and north-east of Sera. The former, on Hyder's approach, came spontaneously to offer submission and allegiance, and for this conduct he was ever afterwards distinguished by Hyder above all his Hindoo dependants. Harponelly obeyed the first summons: but the Poligar of Chittledroog\* attempted to evade

S.S.E. of Bellary town. The fort is at the summit of a mass of granite rock, rising 1,200 feet above the plain. About half way up the hill is the old palace of the Poligar. The fort and surrounding country formed part of the Vijayanagar kingdom, but passed in and out of the power of various Poligars. After the place was finally ceded to the British, the last Poligar was interned as a State prisoner at Gooty, where he died. The family is now extinct.

<sup>1</sup> *Harponelly*.—Harpanahalli, the headquarters of a taluq, also in Bellary District, about 67 miles west of Bellary; it was held by a Poligar of Boya or Beydar caste, who united his family by marriage with that of the Poligar of Chitaldroog. The last Poligar surrendered in 1800 to the British. Harpanahalli lies about 45 miles north-west of Chitaldroog.

\* This is one of the Boya or Beder race, and the early habits of the tribe are evinced in the relation of an exploit of one of their ancestors, as given in the manuscript history of the house, with something, perhaps, of embellishment. During the rule of the first of the family who attained the dignity of Poligar of Chittledroog, the place, it is said, was besieged by his sovereign of Vijayanuggur. The Poligar determined to give him a specimen of the danger which he encountered, by stealing his favourite horse from the head quarters of his camp during the night. The horse shewed uneasiness at the approach of a stranger, and by moving about displaced one of his pickets and awakened the groom: the Poligar quickly concealed himself among the litter, and the groom in replacing the picket drove it through the hand of the Poligar, who bore the pain without flinching. When the groom had fallen asleep, the Poligar, finding it impossible to remove the picket without noise, drew out his knife, amputated his own hand at the wrist, and in this state mounted the horse and carried him off.

[*Boya*, a Telugu word, a caste title. Bedar in Kanarese, a caste used in carrying letters, and palanquins. The old native armies were largely recruited from this caste. The caste has several sub-divisions. The Kanarese name Bedar or hunter is applied to an aboriginal tribe who were notorious for theft and

and procrastinate. Hyder met this attempt by over-running his whole country with his cavalry; and in a few days the Poligar found it prudent to compromise for a fine of two lacs of pagodas, besides the regulated payments, after the ruin of a considerable portion of his country. He was then most graciously received at the camp of his new Nabob, and in the course of conversation mentioned the arrival at his own camp of a singular visitor, whose history opened to Hyder new objects of ambition.

Buswapa Naick, the last actual Raja of Bednore,<sup>1</sup> had died in 1755, leaving as his heir an adopted son named Chen Busveia, about seventeen years of age, under the guardianship of the widow until he should himself attain sufficient experience. The widow had formed a connection of shameless publicity with a person named Nimbeia. The notoriety and public

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robbery. The Ramosis of the Deccan have been supposed to be a branch of the Bedas, but this is doubtful. The Bedas in Madras are now mostly cultivators. (Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.) The chiefs of Sonda in North Canara were probably Bedas, and they formed the old fighting caste in the ceded districts in Madras. In 1750 Hyder Ali used a select corps of Bedars in the battle of Jinji; in 1751 the army of Morari Rao of Gooti was composed chiefly of Bedars, and the same people formed the army of the Poligar of Chitaldrug in Mysore, and in the eighteenth century Harpanahalli in Bellary District was the seat of a powerful Bedar Poligar, whose family was founded by a Boya on the subversion of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Both Telugu and Kanarese Bedars to-day are divided into *Uru*, or village-men, and *Myasa*, or grass-land-men, and these are again sub-divided into various exogamous sub-classes. The usual titles of Bedars and Boyars are Naidu, Naick, Dora, Dorabidda (children of chieftains) and Valmiki. (Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Vol. I, p. 180. See note in Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I, pp. 264-265.)

<sup>1</sup> *Bednore*.—Bednur, now Nagar, in the Shimoga District, Mysore, originally called *Bidaruhalli*, or bamboo village. It became the capital of the Keladi chiefs and rapidly increased in size from the middle of the seventeenth century. After the fall of the Vijayanagar dynasty, the chiefs became independent until subdued by Hyder.

scandal\* of this attachment had drawn animadversions from the young Raja, and in 1757 the lovers had found it expedient to remove this rude observer, by employing a jetti† while sham-poeing‡ him in the bath, to dislocate his neck and destroy him; and they selected an adopted infant to fill the vacant throne. The visitor, whose history was related to Hyder, had announced himself as Chen Busveia, saved by an artifice of the jetti, concealed in the house of his preserver for five years, and now escaped to implore the protection and aid of his neighbours in the recovery of his patrimony. The youth was introduced to Hyder: the plan was quickly arranged of an expedition to reinstate him in his supposed rights, and to remunerate the services to be thus rendered by Hyder and the Poligar. The troops commenced their march towards Bednore about the close of January 1763, moving in four parallel columns, and 1763. preserving a distance from each other of from five to fifteen miles according to circumstances, for the purpose of reducing and occupying all the fortified places situated in the open country before they should attempt the fastnesses of the woods.

The district of Bednore Proper is situated on the summit of that range of western hills which overlooks the provinces of Canara and Malabar. These mountains, elevated from four to five thousand feet above

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\* It was so public as to be noticed by an European traveller, *Anquetil du Perron*, who passed through Canara in 1757.

† The athletes too often added this employment to their other pursuits. The process alluded to in the text has been described to me to be performed by a sudden twist of the head, which dislocates one of the vertebrae of the neck; another twist in the opposite direction completes the destruction of the spinal marrow, and finishes the work of death.

[Jetti is a caste of wrestlers and boxers. The Jetti itself is a sort of cæstus worn on the right hand. Men of this caste are still considered skilful in setting dislocated joints.]

‡ Sham-poeing may be compared to a gentle kneading of the whole person, and is the same operation described by the voyagers of the Southern and Pacific ocean.



the level of the sea, present to the west a surface in many places nearly perpendicular to the horizon, and by their height intercept the clouds of the south-western monsoon: nine rainy months in the year are usually calculated in this climate; and for six of that number it is the practice of most families to make the same preparatory arrangements for provision (water only excepted) as are adopted for a ship proceeding on a six months voyage. This extraordinary moisture\* is not only favourable to the growth of the peculiar products of that rich province, but covers the face of the country with timber of luxuriant stature, with underwood scarcely penetrable, and a foliage which, added to a cloudy sky, has rendered it proverbial among its Mohammedan visitors, that a man may pass the greater part of the year in Bednore without a sight of the sun. The capital and fort of Bednore are situated in a bason encircled by hills, the crest of which, distant from the town from three to six miles, had been fortified in the weakest parts by lines which, with the woods and natural protection of the hills, constituted its only strength; the fort itself being from its position obviously incapable of a good defence. The dominions of this state not only embraced the mountainous range which has been described, but extended to the west over the maritime province now named Canara, and to the east over a tract of more open country stretching to Santa Bednore,<sup>1</sup>

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\* Colonel Mackenzie, who watched the approach of a monsoon on the summit of this range, distinctly observed the clouds, in rolling along, frequently to diverge from their direct course apparently attracted by some hills, more powerfully than by others of equal or superior height; and every successive cloud diverging in the same line. This phenomenon appears to merit farther investigation, and may be found to explain the reason why places similar in situation have unequal proportions of rain.

<sup>1</sup> *Santa Bednore*.—Santa Bednur, i.e. Bennur which has a weekly fair (*Sante*), a village 25 miles west of Chitaldroog in the Shimoga District, Mysore. In 1717 the village was captured by

and Hoolulkera,<sup>1</sup> within twenty miles of Chittledroog, the residence of its constant rival and enemy.

On entering the province Hyder issued proclamations in the name of Chen Busveia, inviting the inhabitants of Bednore to return to their allegiance. At Simoga,<sup>2</sup> a fort on the skirt of the woods, and distant forty-three miles from the capital, which fell without material resistance, he found a lac of pagodas,\* of which he distributed a lac of rupees to the troops as a stimulus to their energies and hopes : at this place also he received and rejected a proposal from the Ranee to purchase his retreat by four lacs of pagodas. At Coompee,<sup>3</sup> distant thirty miles, he found a more important treasure, namely, Lingana, the prime minister of the late Raja, who had long been imprisoned at this place; this personage undertook to instruct Hyder respecting every branch of the resources of the country, and to guide him through a secret path by which the city might be approached without encountering any of the works which have been described. At Eitoor, a trifling post occupied by one hundred men, the garrison had the audacity to fire at the troops; they were surrounded and taken : Hyder ordered their noses and ears to be cut off; and in that state they were dismissed to spread terror

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the Bednur chiefs, who fortified it, and in spite of repeated attacks by Chitaldroog, retained it till 1761.

<sup>1</sup> *Hoolulkera*.—Holalkere, a village 20 miles south-west of Chitaldroog.

<sup>2</sup> *Simoga*.—Shimoga, the chief town of the district of the same name in Mysore, 171 miles north-west of Bangalore. The town from the sixteenth century was one of the possessions of the Keladi chiefs of Bednur. It passed under Mysore after Hyder took it, but in 1798 it was plundered and burnt by the Mahrattas, and later again was left in ruins, after the fall of Seringapatam when Dhundia Wahag pillaged it. It has gradually recovered and now contains about 12,000 inhabitants.

\*The pagoda of Bednore is four rupees, that of Mysore three, that of Fort St. George three and a half; that of Masulipatam is also four rupees.

<sup>3</sup> *Coompee*.—Kumai, a village 14 miles north-west of Shimoga.

before him. At Anantpoor,<sup>1</sup> distant twenty-five miles, the Ranee offered twelve lacs of pagodas, and at his arrival before the first barrier of the works of the capital, eighteen lacs\*; all which offers the information communicated by the captured minister induced him to reject without a moment's hesitation. The army of Hyder having advanced to this formidable position with unexpected celerity, had thrown the Ranee and her paramour into the greatest consternation; and on the rejection of the last offer, terrified at the prospect of an immediate attack, they fled to the fort of Bellalroydroog,<sup>2</sup> situated on the summit of a hill in the continuation of the same range, but seventy miles to the southward. Orders were left for the expeditious removal of all the treasure; but to provide for the possible event of the place being carried before that should be practicable, persons were stationed with positive orders to set the palace and treasury on fire, whenever the danger should appear to be imminent.

Hyder, on the instant of his arrival at the barrier in the beginning of March 1763, ordered a noisy but feigned attack to be made on the posts in his front; while he placed himself at the head of a column formed of his most select troops, and, following the path pointed out by his guide, entered the city before an alarm was given of his approach.

The Ranee's servants set fire to the palace in different places in conformity to their instructions. The inhabitants of this rich and populous town had hitherto been exempted from the alarms and miseries of war; a felicity rare in India, and everywhere least

<sup>1</sup> *Anantpoor*.—A village 12 miles west of Kumsi. It now contains only a population of about 450.

\* Seventy-two lacs of rupees, or 864,000*l*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bellalroydroog*.—Ballalrayandurga, a fine spreading hill in the Western Ghat range, crowned with extensive fortifications, in the south of Kadur District, Mysore. The fortifications were erected by Hoysala kings. The fort stands at the summit of a steep pass leading down into Canara.

appretiated by those who have most enjoyed it. They fled in all directions, with a dismay and astonishment embittered by its contrast with the stupid and insolent security of their former habits. The terror of such minds, outstripping the ordinary effects of fear, drove the whole mass of the inhabitants to concealment in the woods and mountains which touch the very confines of the city : and the immense property of the most opulent commercial town of the East, eight miles in circumference, and full of rich dwellings, was thus left without a claimant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Vincent Smith in the *Oxford History of India* remarks of Wilks's estimate of twelve millions sterling as the booty found by Hyder in Bednur : "The huge figure suggests scepticism, but Wilks was in a good position to judge, and no materials exist for forming a closer estimate." The family of the Keladi chiefs were Lingayats. They established themselves as chiefs under the Vijayanagar Rajas, and at the fall of the Vijayanagar dynasty, threw off their dependence, and in 1639 they transferred their capital to Bednur from Ikkeri. Sivappa Nayak, the chief who ruled at Bednur from 1645-1660, conquered all Canara and considerable country to the east of Bednur as far as Shimoga. He organised a very complete system of land assessment, and no doubt enriched the State. But previous to his reign in 1623, an Italian, Pietro della Valle, who accompanied a Portuguese embassy to Ikkeri, described the country as flourishing and the roads through it as secure for the traveller. Father Leonardo Paes, who travelled in Canara in the middle of the seventeenth century, said that Sivappa Nayak had collected enormous treasure, that he had a standing army of forty to fifty thousand men. In the reign of Basappa Nayak II, 1739-1754, Jacobus Canter Vioscher spoke of Bednur as the granary of all southern India : "The city (Bednur) where the Raja holds his court lies some leagues inland, and is connected with the sea port by a fine road, planted with trees, which the inhabitants are obliged to keep in excellent order." "The Bednur Prince," he says, "is much more magnificent and powerful than those of Malabar. His kingdom produces many peculiar commodities, such as sandal wood, which is found there in great abundance, as well as rice." Any one who is acquainted with the south of India, would not be surprised that the State of Bednur should have rivalled the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in wealth. The Portuguese account of the latter State described its riches, and when it is remembered that all accumulations of wealth in these States took

Hyder's first care was to extinguish the flames of the palace, in which he personally assisted; and his second, to put an end to the plunder of the troops, in order that he himself might become the exclusive possessor of the booty. His arrangements for this purpose were so skilfully combined, that in a few hours his official seals were placed on the doors of every public and private dwelling above the condition of a hovel, and safeguards were stationed to enforce respect to the only plunder which was deemed to be legitimate. The available property of every description, including money and jewels, which he realized on this occasion, is variously stated, but it may without the risk of exaggeration be estimated at twelve millions sterling; and was throughout life habitually spoken of by Hyder as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness.

The occupation of the rest of the country was

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the form of jewellery and buried treasure, secured by being stored in underground vaults and pits, it is not improbable that Hyder did find here booty valued in millions sterling. The State of Bednur had natural wealth in its forests and general fertility far exceeding that of Vijayanagar. At one time its territories included the whole of what is now the South Canara District, and a large part of the Kadur and Shimoga Districts in Mysore. The annual land revenue of South Canara is now about seventeen lakhs of rupees, and in the times of the Bednur Rajas it was probably much larger. It must have been a very rich district and offered great opportunities for loot by an invading army. (Cf. Lewis Rice: *Mysore*, Vol. II, pp. 431-433.) Mir Hussain Kirmani, in Miles's *History of Hydur Naik*, says of Bednur: "In fact, that the fertility of the country was the envy of Kashmeer, for on it depended many cities, pleasant and rich, and its beautiful fields and meadows gave delight to the heart of the beholder; that moderate rain fell there for six months in every year, which gave life and verdure to the hearts of the withered vegetation and the animal creation; that the trees of the forest and gardens were mostly coconut and date. like the stature of the lonely with their heads great," etc., etc. All this is more than the mere rigmarole, Colonel Miles thought it. It shows the reputation which attached to Bednur, and anybody who knows the western country of Mysore, can appreciate the tributes to its

rather a business of arrangement than of conquest. The two principal detachments possessed themselves of Bussoo Raj Droog, (fortified island) Honayer,<sup>1</sup> (Onore) and Mangalore on the coast; and a third, of Bellalroydroog, where the Ranee capitulated on the general\* assurance of due consideration for her rank and dignity.

On the arrival of the army at Coompsee, the fraud of the pretended Chen Busveia is understood to have been discovered, if indeed we are to suppose that Hyder at any time believed the tale; but until the capture of the Ranee he continued to treat the impostor with all the forms of distinguished external respect, not, however, concealing a smile at the jests of the soldiers, who amused themselves by saluting him with the title of Ghyboo Raja, or the Raja of the resurrection; a name which became the standing joke of the camp.

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beauty and wealth. (Miles: *History of Hydur Naik*, pp. 128 129.) "A region replete with every natural beauty." (Lewis Rice: *Mysore*.) Miles in his history (Vol. II, p. 279) thinks that probably Colonel Wilks's estimate may be divided by three. However he says: "The sound judgment of Colonel Wilks generally preserves him, much better than oriental gentlemen in general, from this strain of eastern hyperbole."

<sup>1</sup> *Honaver*.—Honawar, in North Canara District, Bombay Presidency, at the mouth of the Sharavati River below the Falls of Gersoppa.

\* Budr ù Zeman Khan states that she capitulated on the condition of being reinstated in her sovereignty on her conversion to Islam; that she accordingly went through the form of renouncing her cast by eating beef, and after this wanton degradation was sent to Mudgherry. I have no doubt of the main facts of the case, but I conclude that my respectable informant must have forgotten some of its circumstances. Hyder seldom adhered to the spirit of an inconvenient engagement: but he professed never to deviate from its letter, and the oracle of Delphos was not more skilful in framing an equivocal sentence. But a conversion to Islam certainly was never blended with his political views, and must have been the spontaneous offer of a woman to whom disgrace was familiar: the expectation may have been inferred, but it is probable that Hyder never made a promise on such a condition.

Whatever may have been the conditions understood by the Ranee, or the stipulations adjusted with Ghyboo Raja, it is certain that Hyder despatched to one common prison, on the fortified rock of Mudgherry,<sup>1</sup> one hundred and eighty miles to the eastward, not only these two personages, but Nimbeia the Ranee's paramour, and Somasakur, her adopted son and sovereign. Their confinement was intended to be perpetual, and there they remained until liberated on the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767.

Hyder formed the design of intrusting to the civil servants of the former government the detailed administration of the affairs of Bednore, to which he gave a distinct minister; and throughout the whole of his arrangements, affected to treat it as a separate kingdom: Seringapatam and its dependencies he on all occasions professed to consider as belonging to the Karter (sovereign), or pageant Raja of Mysoor; Bednore, to which he gave the name of Hyder Nuggur,\* he avowed to be his own. It is not intended to intimate that he ever seriously designed to alter the condition of that personage, but it is certain that he formed the deliberate determination of transferring to Hyder Nuggur the seat of his general government; and of blending Seringapatam, with all its remembrances, among the general mass of his minor possessions. Hyder could never have intended to establish his capital, his family, and his treasures,

\* *Mudgherry*.—Maddagiri, a town in the north of Tumkur District, Mysore. It has a bold fortified hill commanding the town. The summit is nearly 4,000 feet above the sea level. Hyder added to the fortifications of the hill. In 1767 it was taken by the Mahrattas under Madhava Rao, who held it till 1774, when Tippu took the town.

\* It was a few days after its capture that some person, speaking of its population, said, that it had been intended by the former dynasty to augment the houses to ninety thousand, the distinctive number which constitutes a nuggur. "We will not mar the project," said Hyder, "and it shall be named Hyder Nuggur."

at a place of no military strength; the determination, therefore, in itself, confirms a suspicion to which we have before adverted, of his deficiency in an important branch of military judgment; a deficiency which is the more remarkable in a mind distinguished in other respects by a degree of sagacity and penetration which has seldom been exceeded. He gave orders for the removal of his family, the erection of a splendid palace (which was never finished), the establishment of a mint, in which, for the first time, he struck coins\* in his own name, and the preparation of a dock-yard and naval arsenal on the western coast for the construction of ships of war; the latter under the direction of Lutf Ali Beg, a brave and excellent officer of cavalry, but eminently ignorant of every thing connected with his new duties of naval engineer and lord high admiral.

The rains commenced in June with their usual violence: few strangers escape their influence: and about the month of September the endemic disease had made such havoc on Hyder's constitution, that he was no longer able to transact business in the public durbar. The servants of the former dynasty considering the opportunity to be favourable for the emancipation of their country, entered into an extensive conspiracy for the assassination of Hyder and the recovery of the capital. Some obscure suspicions were conveyed to him by a trusty servant; and he directed an investigation to be made by a commission composed of some of his oldest, and, as he conceived, his most trusty civil officers; who happened to be all accomplices in the conspiracy. The report of this investigation was read to Hyder while reclining on his couch, and shivering in a paroxysm of ague; but, even in this state, his keen perception penetrated the veil which they had attempted to throw over the few facts which were known to him. He dissembled;

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\* Hydery Pagodas, of the same value as the former currency.



however, for the present, and detained the commissioners in feigned consultation, until the hot fit was succeeded by a slight remission; he then arose, and entering the durbar (or hall of business) re-examined the witnesses, and completely discovered the whole plot. He ordered the commissioners to be instantly hanged in his presence, in front of the hall of audience: the requisite arrests followed with rapidity, and before the close of the same day, upwards of three hundred of the chief conspirators were hanging at the different public ways which issued from the city. This done, he retired to rest with the same serenity as if he had only been discussing the ordinary business of the day, and arose on the following morning visibly recovered by the consequences of the unusual exertion to which he had been compelled. Bednore was thenceforward the most tranquil and obedient of all his possessions: but it was from this period that he began those improvements in the organization of his system of police which afterwards raised it to such horrible perfection.

As soon as the weather admitted, Fuzzul Oolla Khan\* was detached about December, 1763, for the conquest of Soonda; a country of small extent, situated immediately to the north of Bednore Proper, and partaking of the same peculiarities of climate and produce. This conquest was achieved with the same facility as that of Bednore, and replenished the coffers of Hyder with a corresponding proportion of treasure.<sup>1</sup> The Raja fled, after a feeble resistance, from

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\* I consult the convenience of the English reader in continuing this name instead of Hybut Jung.

<sup>1</sup> The Rajas of Sonda (Soonda), now a small village in Sirsi taluka, North Canara District, were a branch of the Vijayanagar dynasty and settled at Sonda between 1570 and 1580. On the destruction of Sonda by Hyder Ali in 1764, the chief fled to Goa, where his descendants still hold a position of honour. It is possible that both the Sonda chiefs and the Rajas of Vijayanagar belonged to the great Bedar tribe of the Kanarese districts. If this hypothesis is true, writes Dr. V. A. Smith, it would account

his more elevated possessions to Tuccolighur, near Goa in lower Soonda; and in consequence of his distresses surrendered to the Portuguese the whole of his territory below the Ghauts, in consideration of receiving from them a fixed stipend; an arrangement which has been continued with his descendants to the present time.

The French Nabob Reza Ali Khan, the son of Chunda Sahib, had escaped from Pondicherry on ship-board during the siege which terminated in its capture in January, 1761; and after residing for some time in Ceylon for the purpose of watching the progress of affairs, landed in Canara in November, 1763, and came to claim the protection of Hyder. The talents of this officer appear to have deserved a greater degree of estimation than they had obtained from the French: he was received with distinction by Hyder, presented with a jageer of a lac of rupees, and, in the services in which he was afterwards employed, certainly acquitted himself with a very creditable degree of spirit and military skill. From the long intercourse of Reza Ali with the French, he was enabled to assist Hyder in the arrangements which were now undertaken for improvement of his army, and particularly in the discipline and interior economy of his regiments of infantry, now for the first time clothed in an uniform manner, and classed into *Avvul* and *Duum*, first and second, or grenadiers and troops of the line: the first was in conformity to the suggestion of Reza Ali, a distinction not exclusively regulated by stature and physical strength, but by tried steadiness and courage, and was rewarded by a superior fixed pay.

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for the extraordinary list of the Vijayanagar Kings recorded by contemporary Portuguese travellers. See Orme's *History*, Vol. I, pp. 314-315. For a full account of the Bedars, see Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 1909. Sewell (p. 13) suggests that the Vijayanagar kings may have belonged to the Kuruba tribe, who are shepherds." (Edwards: *Grant Duff's History of the Marattas*. Vol. I, p. 146, note.)

He now also established a regular order in forms of procession, a new splendor in the equipments of his retinue, and a more dignified etiquette in the ceremonials of public audience. The conquest of Bednore, in short, seemed to form a new æra in the history of this extraordinary man.

It will not have escaped the observation of the attentive reader, that the acquisition of Sera, which Hyder deemed it convenient to receive in the garb of a formal investiture from a Mohammedan lord, was, in point of fact, a conquest from the Mahrattas. Hyder was perfectly aware that this people would regard the fact alone; and that the fictitious part of the transaction would only give offence to the Soubadar of the Deckan, of whose supposed authority it was a direct usurpation. He accordingly despatched Apagee Ram as a vakeel to Hyderabad, charged with public gifts, and fortified with Soucar credit to an amount considerably exceeding the consideration paid to Basalut Jung. These means produced their usual effect at the court of the Soubadar, who was the more easily appeased from his incapacity, at the moment, to resent the affront. To Poona, Hyder sent for the same purpose, and provided in the same manner, Mhedi Ali Khan; but here the injury was more direct and substantial. Madoo Row, the third of those chiefs under the title of Peshwa who had usurped the regal authority from the descendants of Sevajee, and had succeeded on the death of Balajee Row in 1761, was little disposed to acquiesce in the conquest of any part of his dominions; and it became necessary for Hyder to provide against an invasion, certainly more formidable, as well from the number and quality of the troops as from the talents of their leader, than he had anticipated from his former contests with Mahratta armies.

By the annexation of the dependencies of Sera, the frontiers of Hyder had been carried to the river Tombuddra, and by the conquest of Bednore and

Soonda they stretched far to the north-west of that river. A slight inspection of the map will shew that the province of Savanoor<sup>1</sup> forms a deep indentation into the territory then possessed by Hyder; who formed the design of attaching to his interest not only the Patan Nabob of that province, but those of Kurnool<sup>2</sup> and Curpa, with a view to establish a sort of defensive cordon along the whole extent of his northern frontier, and acquire three corps of hardy Patan cavalry to serve with his armies.

We have already had occasion to explain\* the cause which had compelled the Nabob of Savanoor to bend to the interests of the Mahrattas, and the arguments of Hyder's envoy had not succeeded in convincing him of their insufficiency : as soon, therefore, as Fuzzul Oolla Khan had completed the service in Soonda, he was directed to enter Savanoor, but to abstain from hostility while any prospect should remain of inducing the Nabob, by the joint power of terror and persuasion, to embrace the alliance of Hyder. Abdul Hekeem Khan, then Nabob, determined to risk the consequences of a positive refusal; and Hyder moved to form a junction with his

<sup>1</sup> The Savanur State now has an area of 70 square miles, and forms part of the Dharwar District, Bombay. It comprises the territory which was confirmed in the Nawab's possession at the close of the last Mahratta war. The founder of the State was a Pathan, Abdul Kauf Khan, who obtained a grant of a jagir from Aurangzeb in 1680. In 1730, the family, as deputies of the Nizam, received additional territory, which the Mahrattas seized in 1747. (I. G. Bom. 1909, Vol. II, p. 501.)

<sup>2</sup> *Kurnool*, originally formed part of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. It afterwards became a province of Bijapur, and later Aurangzeb gave it to a Pathan, Kiya Khan, for military services. Salabat Jang acquired it in 1752, but restored it to Munwaz Khan of the Pathan family, and it was held by that family, at the time of Hyder. In 1800 the district was taken by the English, who maintained the Nawab in Kurnool. In 1838, for misconduct, the Nawab was deposed and the family pensioned.

\* See page 423.

advanced troops, accompanied by the body of his army from Bednore.

The actual situation of the Nabob of Savanoor had rendered it equally unnecessary and impracticable for him to maintain a large body of troops ; and he moved out with between three and four thousand horse, and a rabble of irregular foot, rather for the credit of not shutting himself up in the town without an effort, than with any rational expectation of success against the overwhelming force of Hyder. The foot were spread over the plain so as to make a demonstration of greater numbers, and the Patan horse were reserved in a compact body to take advantage of events. Hyder, holding these demonstrations in contempt, made a disposition which was intended to envelope the whole, and to cut off their retreat. Abdul Hekeem charged the principal column when in the act of deploying, cut through it with considerable slaughter, and with great coolness and judgment prepared to upset the infantry, already formed in line, by a charge on their flank. At this moment a reserve of artillery opened with effect on this close and compact body of cavalry, and produced a degree of confusion which compelled the Patans to disperse and retire. Hyder seized with promptitude this favourable moment for a charge with his own cavalry ; the fugitives were pursued to the very gates of the city, and a small remnant only of the infantry, who stripped and passed as peasants, escaped the sabre on the plain. The immediate consequence of this gallant but imprudent effort was the unconditional submission of Abdul Hekeem to all the demands which Hyder had previously made, and to a farther military contribution of two lacs of rupees. Hoarding treasure is not among the propensities of a Patan, nor among the practices which escape the observation of a Mahratta ; and as the Nabob had unfortunately little credit with the Soucars, or money-lenders, he was obliged to make payment in shawls,

silks, muslins, gold cloths, carpets, and other valuables, equal in Hyder's forced estimation to the stipulated sum, but in actual value to four times the amount.

This object being accomplished, the arrangements of Hyder's recently acquired kingdom recalled him to Bednore, and he left Fuzzul Oolla Khan with a considerable division of the army to establish and extend his conquests to the northward. This able officer was active and successful in the execution of his orders. The apprehension of attack from the south had never entered into the contemplation of the Mahrattas; the places of strength were unprovided with the means of defence; and the important fortress of Darwar, with a multitude of minor posts, fell into his hands almost without an effort.

Madoo Row<sup>1</sup> was not inattentive to the course of the late transactions. During the two last years he had been engaged in active hostility against Nizam Ali Khan, who, in the early part of his administration, exhibited a considerable degree of enterprize and military talent. In 1762, this chief had acquired by treaty the restitution of the fortress of Dowlatabad, which had been wrested from him by the Mahrattas on a former occasion; and in a new campaign in 1763, he had carried his arms to the capital of the Mahratta dominions, and reduced the city of Poona to ashes. Another accommodation succeeded this event; and Nizam Ali being now engaged in hostility against his brother Basalut Jung in the direction of Kurnool, Madoo Row had leisure to attend to the operations of Hyder. The rapid and astonishing increase of the army and resources of his enemy rendered it necessary for the Peshwa to provide with corresponding care for the augmentation and equipment of his own force. During the delay which these preparations had occasioned, Fuzzul

<sup>1</sup> *Madoo Row*.—Madhu Rao, the second son of Balaji Baji Rao, succeeded his father as Peshwa in 1761.

Oolla Khan had extended Hyder's northern frontier across the rivers Werda, Malpurba, and Gutpurba,<sup>1</sup> nearly to the banks of the Kistna.\* Gopaul Row the Mahratta chief of Meritch,<sup>2</sup> immediately to the northward of that river, was furnished by Madoo Row with a considerable reinforcement, and ordered to cross the Kistna and check the progress of the enemy until the main army should arrive. Gopaul Row finding himself superior in numbers† to Fuzzul Oolla Khan, determined to give him battle, but was defeated with great loss in the month of April. Early in the ensuing month, the immense army of Madoo Row crossed the Kistna; Fuzzul Oolla deliberately retreated as he approached, and Hyder, recalling all his detachments, advanced towards Savanoor, and took up a position near Rettehully. There, encamped on an eminence which overlooked an extensive plain in front, he was secured by the vicinity

<sup>1</sup> *Werda, Malpurba, Gutpurba.*—Varada, Malprabha and Ghatprabha rivers, all flowing west to east; the first flows into the Tungabhadra south of Savanur, the second and third flow into the Kistna near Kaladgi in the Dharwar District of Bombay.

\* These rivers are fordable excepting from June to November.

<sup>2</sup> *Meritch.*—Miraj, a town east of Kolhapur, Bombay Presidency. It originally formed part of the Sangli State, which was granted as a jagir by Madhu Rao, the Peshwa, to Govind Rao Patvardhan, a Brahmin. (I. G. Bom. 1909, Vol. II, p. 529.)

† I have found it proper to distrust my manuscripts in statements of numbers more than in any other case. In no country, and in no circumstance, is it safe to trust to any statement of numbers that is not derived from actual returns. Even Sir Eyre Coote, whose keen and experienced eye might be considered a safe guide, and whose pure mind never harboured a thought of exaggeration, states the force of Hyder in the battle of Porto Novo, first July, 1781, to have been from one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty thousand horse and irregular infantry, besides twenty-five battalions of regulars; when it is certain that the whole did not exceed eighty thousand. I wish to be understood that when I have not been able to satisfy my own mind regarding numbers, I prefer the sort of relative statement adopted in the text; which may generally be determined with great probability where an opportunity has been obtained of examining the representations of both parties

of the woods in his rear, which afforded a cover for his infantry against the very superior numbers of the enemy's cavalry, from their commencement to the town of Bednore. On this ground he mustered twenty thousand horse, twenty thousand regular infantry, and twenty thousand irregular foot or peons chiefly armed with matchlocks, and a respectable train of artillery.\* The force of Madoo Row was reputed at sixty thousand cavalry, Mahratta, Rajpoot, and Mohammedan, the same description of individuals which composed that of Hyder, their quality as troops not materially different, and therefore exceeding the same branch of Hyder's army in the proportion of three to one; but, as estimated numbers are always exaggerated, although in different degrees, from thirty to forty thousand may be considered in this case as a nearer approach to the fact. The infantry and artillery of Madoo Row were superior in number to that of Hyder in about the same degree as his cavalry: his regular infantry was composed of a better description of men, but in point of discipline was inferior. Of his irregulars a large proportion of the matchlockmen were Arabs, and superior to the same description of troops in the service of his opponent; but the Mahratta pikemen were decidedly inferior to those of Chittledroog, who (though as yet reluctantly) served in the army of Hyder.

The Mahrattas approached in their usual manner, covering the whole country with cavalry, and thereby concealing the movements of the rest of their army: the superiority was so decided as to enable them to invest Hyder in his camp and to intercept his supplies. His position however was purely defensive; and the object of assuming it was frustrated by the simple determination of his enemy

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\* I cannot state its number or quality with confidence; but at this time twenty-five pieces was about the probable number of his field guns.



to decline attacking it. His whole force from its relative inferiority was necessarily concentrated, while Madoo Row's detachments were actively employed abroad in recovering all that had been wrested from him by Hyder. That chief soon penetrated the design of the judicious plans which rendered useless all his dispositions; he determined to bring on a general action, and if possible still to lead the enemy by pursuit to attack him in his chosen position. With this view he confided the command of the camp to Fuzzul Oolla Khan, and moved out on the plain with a select corps of twenty thousand men. His manœuvres, however, terminated in his becoming the dupe of his own design: being drawn to the distance of six or seven miles, the irregular swarms of horse assumed a more fixed distribution, and discovered to him the whole army of Madoo Row closing upon him in every direction. The dispositions of Hyder for regaining his position were made with steadiness and skill; he forced the corps which was posted to intercept his retreat, and retired, hard pressed for a time, towards Rettehully, expecting to terminate a hard fought day by drawing the enemy to the ground which he had chosen for action. Madoo Row had too much penetration to be so deceived; and Hyder, after sustaining a severe loss in the flower of his army, was foiled in all his objects. Distressed for supplies, he fell back the next day to Anawutty, where he had prepared an entrenched camp, and where the thick woods commence, which secured a communication with his supplies. To this position Madoo Row did not decline to follow him, and a few days afterwards appeared to be moving columns in different directions to invest the camp. Hyder imagined that he perceived an opportunity of cutting off one of these columns. He moved out for this purpose with two thousand regular infantry, one thousand select horse, and four light guns; he was again inveigled to advance too far, and completely

surrounded. Hyder and about fifty of his cavalry escaped by the fleetness of their horses ; the remainder of the corps was completely destroyed.

These operations were protracted beyond the middle of June. The south western clouds which had long been blackening in the distance, began to form along the crest of the hills that thick impenetrable gloom which it is necessary to have seen to be able to conceive ; and the torrents of the monsoon commencing in a few days after this affair, compelled Madoo Row to retire to a situation less exposed to their violence. He cantoned his troops for the rains to the eastward of Savanoor.

Long before the rains had abated on the hills, Madoo Row passed considerable detachments over the river Toombuddra, and employed himself in reducing the whole of the eastern dependencies of Bednore, and the adjacent parts of Mysoor : while Hyder's army, wretched, spiritless, and sickly, from the inevitable consequences of its situation, looked with apathy or aversion to the renewal of active operations. About the beginning of the year 1765, the weather began to admit an approach to the woods of Anawutty, and Madoo Row opened the campaign with the employment of a numerous corps of pioneers, which he had organized and equipped during the rains. His object was to cut, in the first instance, a wide opening through the woods, to the southward of Hyder's intrenched camp ; and progressively to form a line of circumvallation, by felling the gigantic forests around it. Hyder, perceiving the inevitable destruction which awaited him if he should permit his communication with Bednore to be cut off, immediately abandoned his intrenchments and commenced his retreat. The close and vigorous pursuit of the enemy necessarily impeded the celerity of his movement, and compelled him frequently to halt his whole force to sustain their attacks on his rear-guard. On the third day of these slow and

retrograde movements, ground, comparatively open, afforded to Madoo Row the opportunity of moving a column between the army of Hyder and the point on which he was retreating, and thus forcing him to a general action. It is admitted by all who shared in the contest of this day, that although the dispositions of Hyder were respectable, the conduct of his troops was destitute of firmness and spirit; and that the action terminated in a disorderly rout in which he lost in killed alone three thousand horse, and double that number of infantry; the shattered remains of his troops escaping in dismay to the depth of the woods. The despondency of the army was communicated to the garrisons; the intermediate posts of Eekairee,<sup>1</sup> Anantpoor, and Compsee, made but a feeble resistance; and Hyder, before the end of January, was reduced to occupy those lines surrounding Bednore which have been formerly described. In approaching this situation he began for the first time to reflect that the means by which he had himself achieved the conquest of this capital were also open to his enemies: that woods, although a protection to men individually animated in their defence, are equivalent to the concealment of night for troops who are not forward in the performance of their duty\*: and that he had made the worst possible selection for the capital of an empire. Before he assumed this position his family was despatched by a route through the woods to Seringapatam, and detachments with treasure successively followed. In

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<sup>1</sup> *Eekairee*.—Ikheri, a village about 17 miles west of Anantapur, which is about 10 miles again west of Kumsi, all villages in Shimoga District. Mysore. It was, until 1640, the capital of the Keladi chiefs, afterwards removed to Bednur. Its walls were of great extent, forming three concentric enclosures. (Rice: *Mysore*.)

\* Neither Hyder nor Tippoo, after this period, ever attempted to occupy a jungle (wood), although many opportunities occurred when they might (if not diffident of their troops) have done so with infinite advantage.

the mean time he had made private advances for negotiation through the medium of Ragonaut Row,\* the uncle of Madoo Row, which terminated in an adjustment of extreme moderation, considering the desperate circumstances in which Hyder was placed.

1st. He engaged to restore all the districts and places which he had wrested from Morari Row.

2. To relinquish all claims on Abd-ul-Hekeem Khan, and the country of Savanoor.

3. To pay thirty-two lacs of rupees, on receipt of which Madoo Row engaged to retire, and did actually commence his march on the day after the payment was made, viz. about the end of February, 1765.<sup>1</sup>

Hyder's occupation of Sera appears to have been tacitly admitted in this negotiation, and all discussions relative to the Poligars of Chittledroog, Raidroog, Harponelly, &c. seem to have been studiously avoided by both parties. Madoo Row had other contributions to levy during the open season from February to June; and by a proper understanding with these Poligars and with Morari Row, he considered the recovery of the posts wrested from the latter to furnish the certain means of regaining Sera, and the countries to the south-east of that capital, whenever he should find leisure to repeat his visit. While Hyder from an opposite consideration of the

\* Naroo Shenker was the person sent by Ragonaut Row to Hyder for the final adjustment of the terms; and among them were without question some secret articles which were the foundation of that good understanding which ever afterwards subsisted between Hyder and Ragonaut Row.

[Raghunath Rao, the uncle of Madhu Rao, had joined Madhu Rao from Nasik after his army crossed the Varada river, and Madhu Rao entrusted him with the conduct and conclusion of the treaty with Hyder. (*Vide* Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. I, p. 545.)]

<sup>1</sup> Grant Duff says that according to Mahratta MSS., the terms were fifteen lacs of tribute and the expenses of the war. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. I, p. 546, note.)

very same reasons determined to evade these retrocessions altogether.

During this unfavourable aspect of Hyder's affairs to the west, the whole of his recent acquisitions to the east were in a flame of rebellion. His brother-in-law Meer Ali Reza (usually called Meer Saheb), was therefore sent with a respectable force to Sera, and directed, after the re-establishment of Hyder's authority in that quarter, to co-operate with the corps at Bangalore, Deonhully, Ooscotta, and the two Balipoors; which had for several months been compelled by a general insurrection of the military population of those countries to adopt a cautious and defensive plan of operation. These insurrections were quelled without material difficulty; and the Poligar of Little Balipoor being at length reduced to extremity from the want of supplies on the rock of Nundidroog, surrendered on one of those equivocal capitulations for personal honour and security, which are always interpreted according to the convenience of the conqueror. In the present instance the Poligar with his family was sent to Bangalore, and from thence to perpetual imprisonment in the distant fort of Coilmootoor (Coimbatore).

Another corps under Fuzzul Oolla Khan was in the mean while employed in restoring order and levying revenue and contributions farther to the south-east; for the unprosperous aspect of Hyder's late situation had rendered necessary the presence of troops in every part of his dominions. These reverses appear however to have made but a temporary impression on the mind of this extraordinary man. His enterprising spirit and restless activity seem on all occasions to have converted unfavourable events into lessons of future conquest; and now impelled him to contemplate the condition of his southern possessions on the western coast, and of the contiguous province of Malabar.

The immemorial intercourse between Arabia\* and Malabar had reciprocally induced many natives of each country to form temporary establishments for commercial speculation on the coasts of the other. The peculiar manners † of Malabar had produced an extensive intercourse between the females of that coast and their Arabian visitors; and in process of time had formed a separate class in the community, which retained the religion of their Arabian progenitors, blended with many of the local customs of Malabar. The access of new visitors and settlers from Arabia continued to preserve their bias towards that country; and soon after the appearance of their national apostle, the whole of this class embraced the religion of Mohammed. Ali Raja, one of these Mapilla (a term of doubtful etymology ‡ by which they are distinguished), had in the progress of events obtained possession of the fort of Cananore§, with a small district on the coast, subject in

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\* Arabia was formerly the emporium from which Europe was chiefly supplied with Indian commodities by a tedious coasting navigation. The accidental circumstance of a Roman having been blown to sea from the Arabian coast and driven to Ceylon, in the first century of the Christian æra, and the consequent discovery of the periodical winds, opened the first direct communication by sea between Egypt and India. See the interesting account of the discovery of Hippalus, in Dr. Vincent's dissertation on the Periplus of the Erythrean sea.

† The description of these manners will be more conveniently postponed until we have occasion to relate the characteristic efforts and *sermons* of Tippoo Sultaun for their reformation.

‡ Two Malabar words, of which the name may be compounded, signifying "sons of their mother," would be the most probable etymology, if the difficulty of determining the father had been peculiar to these births in Malabar.

§ It was a Portuguese fort and settlement so early as 1502, and was taken by the Dutch in 1663.—(Valantyn.) To enumerate the incessant revolutions of that coast, from internal quarrels, from the wars of the Dutch, Portuguese, French, and English, and from invasions by the armies of Bednore, would lead too far from the direct object of this narrative, and I have

the loose manner of such dependencies to the Raja of Colastri, or Chericul. Aiming at a greater degree of power and independence, he had sought the friendship of Hyder, as a power united at least by the ties of religion, when his frontier on the coast, by the conquest of Bednore and its dependencies, had approached within a short distance of Cananore.<sup>1</sup> By means of this person, Hyder obtained a competent knowledge of the state of the northern districts of Malabar, and was enabled to add considerably to the information regarding the southern portion of that country which he had derived from the expedition of Mukhdoom Saheb in 1757. We have had occasion, in tracing the history of the landed property of Malabar, to notice\* the subdivision of that country into petty districts under the authority of chieftains comparatively independent, with subordinate proprietors of land, generally of the military class; and although the power and extent of these little clanships was subject to incessant revolution, the general aspect and condition of the country was at this period so nearly the same as to demand no fresh description.

The greater part of the year 1765 was employed

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not attempted to trace the rise and progress of this little Mohammedan chief, who from an opulent trader became lord and merchant monopolist of Cananore.

<sup>1</sup> *Cananore*.—Town in Malabar District, Chirakkal Taluq, a populous seaport. At the close of the 17th century, Malabar was divided among several small chieftains, of whom Kolastiri or Chirakkal in the north and the Zamorin in the south were the most conspicuous. In 1656 the Dutch conquered Cananore, which was afterwards sold to the Cananore family, originally probably represented by a Mapilla merchant. The family still exists and draw pensions from the Government. The derivation of the word Mapilla is in doubt. Probably it is a compound of the root *ma*, (Malayalam) and *pilla* (Malayalam), great child. Mapilla as used by the English always means the west coast Mahomedans, a mixed race of original Arabic fathers and native mothers. Their settlement in Malabar goes back to the ninth century A.D.

\* Pages 172 to 177.

by Hyder in repairing the disasters of the late campaign ; in restoring his authority in the rebellious provinces ; and in establishing such arrangements as should insure their future tranquillity. These objects being provided for, he left a corps of observation, consisting of three thousand horse, four thousand regular infantry, and ten thousand peons, at Buswapatan,<sup>1</sup> to the eastward of Bednore ; and with the remainder of his disposable force descended into Canara about the beginning of the year 1766, with 1766. the avowed intention of achieving the conquest of Malabar.

Passing southward by Mangalore, whither Ali Raja had come forward to meet him, he crossed at Nelisuram<sup>2</sup> the boundary of Malabar, and proceeded with the guidance and aid of Ali Raja to the direct objects of the expedition : his second in command, Ali Reza Khan, the son of Chunda Saheb, had the chief direction of the subsequent operations, and commenced them (of course under authority) by a general instruction to grant no quarter.

The Nairs,<sup>3</sup> or military class of Malabar, are,

<sup>1</sup> *Buswapatan*.—Basavapatna. The fort and town are in the Chennagiri Taluq of the Shimoga District, about 55 miles north-east of Bednur. The place was taken by the Bijapur army under Randulha Khan in 1636. It came under Sira when Dilaver Khan was Governor there. It afterwards changed hands several times. The Mahrattas held it for seven years and then Hyder took it.

<sup>2</sup> *Nelisuram*.—Nileshvara, a village in Kasaragod Taluq, South Canara District, Madras, 46 miles S.S.E. from Mangalore. It lies on the bank of a river of the same name, which, rising in Coorg, flows in a south-westerly direction into the Arabian Sea. Small country craft can enter its mouth for a short distance.

<sup>3</sup> "The next wave of immigration (into Malabar) brought the Nayars, which is now the general name for the Shoodras (Sudras) of Malabar. It is commonly supposed that the word Nayar, Nayak, Naidoo, originally denoted the military as opposed to the agricultural division of the Dravidian tribes. The Nayars of Malabar have always been essentially a martial people, and, in



perhaps, not exceeded by any nation on earth in a high spirit of independence and military honour ; but, like all persons stimulated by that spirit without the direction of discipline, their efforts are uncertain, capricious, and desultory. The military dress of the Nair is a pair of short drawers, and his peculiar weapon is an instrument with a thin but very broad blade, hooked towards the edge like a bill-hook, or gardener's knife, and about the length of a Roman sword ; which the weapon of the chiefs often exactly resembles. This hooked instrument, the inseparable companion of the Nair whenever he quits his dwelling on business, for pleasure, or for war, has no scabbard, and is usually grasped by the right hand, as an ornamental appendage in peace, and for destruction in war. When the Nair employs his musquet, or his bow,\* the weapon which has been described is fixed in an instant by means of a catch in the waist-belt, with

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habits and customs, have but slight affinity to the ordinary Tamuls, the Pillais and the Gowndens. Probably they bear a closer resemblance to the Teloo goo Reddies. They appear to have entered Malabar from the north. . . . The more prominent facts which can be noted regarding them are that they were serpent-worshippers, that they practised polyandry, that their land tenures in common with other customs point to a military organisation, and that their language was Dravidian." (*Madras Manual of Administration*, p. 100.) The Nair customs as to marriage are singular, and point to a survival of polyandry. These customs give to the Nair women a considerable social influence. Most of them know how to read and write. They cherish a most tenacious attachment to their native country and are rarely known to emigrate to other parts of India, though in recent years travelling has become more common. This aversion from leaving their homes has prevented their martial instincts from being made use of in the army. They are able in the management of business affairs.

\* The bow and arrow was the ancient missile weapon of India, but has been successively replaced by the matchlock, and more modern musquet ; the latter, of European manufacture, was, at the period of Hyder's invasion, in general use on the coast of Malabar, in consequence of the long established intercourse of strangers with the people of that coast. The supposition that the

the flat part of the blade diagonally across his back ; and is disengaged as quickly whenever he drops his musquet in the wood, or slings it across his shoulders for the purpose of rushing to close encounter with this terrible instrument. The army of Hyder had not before engaged so brave or so formidable an enemy : their concealed fire from the woods could neither be returned with effect, nor could the troops of Hyder be prevailed on to enter the thickets, and act individually against them. In every movement through the forests, with which the country abounds, bands of Nairs rushed by surprise upon the columns of march ; and, after making dreadful havoc, were in a moment again invisible. On one occasion they were so imprudent as to depart from their characteristic warfare, and openly defended the passage of one of those rivers with which the province is everywhere intersected to discharge the mountain torrents.

use of gunpowder was known in India before its discovery in Europe appears to me to be not sufficiently supported. Mr. Halhed, in his preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws (page 57), adverts to a passage in Quintus Curtius, which mentions missile fire having been employed in the defence of a place attacked by Alexander. I have not been successful in my search for this passage either in Quintus Curtius, or Arrian. Philostratus, lib. ii. ch. 14, introduces in a dialogue between king Phraotes and Apolloneus Tyaneus, an account of the Oxydraei : " of which nation were the wise men who conversed with Alexander : " " they inhabit," says Phraotes, " the country between the Hyphasis and Ganges, which Alexander never penetrated, and would never have been able to conquer, for they fight with prodigious tempests and thunderbolts, being themselves accounted sacred and beloved by the gods." Hercules and Bacchus, it is added, were both repulsed by that people, who allowed them to approach their fortress, and then beat them back with thunders and fiery tempests. Arguments are also drawn from the names of the ancient instruments described in the Indian poems, *agnes aster* (the instrument of fire), &c. If I have been rightly instructed regarding the passages scattered through the Ramayan, which describe the action of these instruments, they are entirely fabulous. The *agnes aster*, the fire of which cannot be extinguished, may, plausibly enough, be put for the Greek fire, but the *brama*

Hyder, by passing a column of cavalry at a higher ford, and combining their charge on the flank of the Nairs with a heavy discharge of grape in front, made a dreadful carnage among them. As he advanced to the southward he secured his communications by a series of block houses\*; and the Nairs, perceiving the object of these erections, impeded his progress by the defence of their own small posts. One of these, which my manuscripts name Tamelpelly, was surrounded by Hyder in the following manner: first, a line of regular infantry, and guns with an abbatis; second, a line of peons; third, of cavalry. This disposition was made for the purpose of striking terror by not allowing a man to escape destruction. The Nairs defended themselves until they were tired of the confinement, and then leaping over the abbatis and cutting through the three lines with astonishing rapidity, they gained the woods before the enemy had recovered from their surprise. Such was the character of the warfare in which Hyder was daily

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*aster*, or *astrum*, a weapon formed by magical process from a blade of grass, when once discharged cannot cease motion until it has hit its object. The *baunum* (arrow in some of the spoken dialects at this time), is also the name for the modern Indian war-rocket; but however various and fabulous, the twang of Rama's bow always announces the flight of the *baunum*. The argument amounts to this, that the effects of gunpowder may have been the foundation of these fables; but to this are opposed the following considerations. 1. No vestige of fire-arms, or of instruments discharged by gunpowder, is to be found in the Indian sculptures (to be seen in every part of India) which represent the war of the Ramayan, or any other war: the bow and arrow, the spear (the Indian *bullum* and Latin *pilum*) and sword, being the only weapons described. 2. The Persian and Tartar conquerors of later periods, and particularly Chingeez Khan, whose operations are minutely detailed, make no mention of a circumstance which would necessarily have excited the greatest astonishment; and so far as I have been able to examine the question, there is no direct evidence of the use of gunpowder in India, until a period long subsequent to its introduction in Europe.

\* *Block-house* is a literal translation of the term which generally distinguished these posts, viz. *Leckerycota*.

engaged; and in this manner continuing his progress through the territory of the five northern chiefs, he approached Calicut. Maan Vicran Raj, the Samoree (Zamorin)<sup>1</sup>, perceiving that resistance would be ultimately unavailing, and having heard of the peculiar favour which the Poligar of Raidroog had secured by an early submission, opened a negotiation, and proposed, if a safe conduct should be assured to him, to pay his respects to Hyder for the purpose of adjusting the terms of submission. This proposal being acceded to, the Raja proceeded to camp, where he was received by Hyder on the 11th of April 1766, with marks of particular distinction, and presented with valuable jewels. The terms adjusted at this interview were the confirmation of the Raja in his actual possessions as the tributary of Hyder, on his payment of four lacs of Venetian sequins<sup>2</sup> as a military contribution. This arrangement being made, the army moved forward towards Calicut,<sup>3</sup> accompanied by the Raja; but at the very moment that Hyder

<sup>1</sup> Zamorin, probably from Sanskrit *samudri*, relating to the sea. A titular chief of Calicut, descendant of a family, which once ruled over the territories in South Malabar. In 1498, Vasco de Gama arrived at Calicut and was hospitably received by the Zamorin. The Zamorin has retained his title, but is now a stipendiary of the Crown.

<sup>2</sup> These were the gold *zecchins* of Venice. (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 193.) This work gives a quotation (1767) making the 'chequin' equal to five Arcot rupees. Lockyen (*Trade of India*, 1711, p. 280) says that at Calicut, one rupee is four fanhams, 2 tare, and 1 chequeen, Ibraim, or Muggerbee is 13 fanhams, 2 tare. The tare =  $\frac{1}{16}$  fanham. This makes the sequin not much more than 3 rupees at that time. Milburn (*Oriental Commerce*, 1813. Vol. I, p. 322) says, that at Tellichery, 'Venetians' pass at 5 rupees each.

<sup>3</sup> *Calicut*.—The headquarters of the Collector of Malabar, a large town and sea port 330 miles W.S.W. of Madras. The English factory was established here in 1616 by permission of the Zamorin. It was expelled by the Dutch in 1664, but re-established in 1668. It was captured by Hyder in 1766. The old Portuguese quarter of the town is still standing, and a Roman Catholic church built by the Zamorin and presented

was receiving him with the honours which have been stated, a column was in motion by a circuitous route to seize the post of Calicut: the garrison reasonably concluding from this movement that the Raja was a prisoner, considered defence to be unavailing, and evacuated the place on the same night. Hyder had adopted this precaution from his experience of the deception practised by this Raja regarding the military contribution of 1757; and the Raja apprehended from this virtual infraction of the present agreement, measures of farther circumvention on the part of Hyder. After the expiration of a few days, Hyder intimated his expectation of receiving the stipulated contribution: and the Raja consulted with his ministers regarding the proper measures for its realization. But whether from inability, or design, they appeared to make but little progress in its collection. As the monsoon was not distant, Hyder, suspecting deception, placed both the Raja and his ministers under restraint; and applied to the latter the customary Indian methods of extorting treasure. The Raja, apprized of the cruelties and indignities offered to his ministers, determined to anticipate the possibility of a similar disgrace to himself; and having barricaded the doors of the house in which he was confined, set fire to it in several places, and was consumed in the ruins in spite of all the exertions made by Hyder's command to extinguish the flames.\* In the remembrance after a lapse of years of so extraordinary a

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to the Portuguese in 1525. There is a small French settlement in the town which dates from 1722.

\* The credibility of this circumstance is strengthened by a variety of instances of similar desperation on the part of other military classes of the Hindoos. The well known case of Ranga Rao of Bobilee, related by Mr. Orme, and the more recent occurrence at the capture of Gawilghur, are prominent examples; and occurred where the assailants were commanded in the former case by a French officer, and in the latter by an English general, both as eminently distinguished by their humanity as by the most brilliant military talents.

scene as that which has been related, and even in the confusion of such a moment, a spectator may have misconceived what he saw; but I have been assured by more than one eye-witness, that several of the Raja's personal attendants who were accidentally excluded when he closed the door, afterwards threw themselves into the flames, and perished with their master.

Even a scene of this nature was not calculated to operate on the impenetrable nerves of Hyder: the tortures of the ministers were continued without the least intermission, but the treasure which they at length produced fell far short of the stipulated sum.

While Hyder was occupied in these plans of exaction, the military arrangements for securing the conquest were also pursued with vigour: the fort of Calicut was enlarged and improved; additional posts were erected in different parts of the country, and stored with ammunition and provisions for their ample garrisons. A disposable column of three thousand regular infantry, aided by his newly acquired adherents, the Mapillas, was stationed at Calicut, and the civil government of the province was committed to an experienced officer of revenue named Madana. At the expiration of about a month employed in these arrangements after the death of the Raja, Hyder moved towards Coimbetoor, but was overtaken by the monsoon on his fourth day's march: he received however, in his progress, the submission and tribute of the Rajas of Cochin<sup>1</sup> and

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[The occurrence at Bobbili was in 1758, when it was attacked by the French under Bussy. (*Orme's History*, Book VIII, p. 257.) Gawilgarh in Berar was taken in December, 1803.]

<sup>1</sup> *Cochin*.—The Rajas of Cochin claim to hold hereditary rights from Cherma Permal, who governed the whole of the west coast of Madras as Viceroy of the Chola Kings. They are Nairs by caste. In 1759, the Cochin State was attacked by the Zamorin of Calicut; the Raja of Travancore came to his aid and drove out the enemy, and, in return for the help given, some portion of territory was ceded to Travancore. The State is a

Palghaut<sup>1</sup>; and, after a difficult and dreary march, in which a heavy loss of horses and cattle was sustained, he passed through the woods of Animally,<sup>2</sup> and distributed his army for refreshment and forage in the temperate and fertile province of Coimbatore.

The civil governor to whom Hyder had entrusted the fiscal arrangements of Malabar, viewed its resources through the medium of the practices of exaction in which he had been educated; but was too little versed in the study of human nature to consider the habits and prejudices of a conquered people among the elements of his system of revenue. A quiet acquiescence in foreign subjugation was not to be expected under any circumstances from the natives of Malabar, but the imprudent measures of Madana precipitated their rebellion: and three months had not elapsed after Hyder's arrival in Coimbatore, before intelligence was received that the Nairs had risen in all quarters; and attacked the block houses, which the swelling of the rivers had cut off from all reinforcement, either from each other, or from the moveable force at Calicut. Hyder collected his army without delay, and when the violence of the rains

flourishing one, and 1,361 square miles in extent, containing very valuable forests in the hills and on the coast a luxuriant growth of cocoanut palms and rice. It has been well governed for many years past, by Rajas who have been loyal chiefs. Almost a quarter of the population are Christians.

<sup>1</sup> *Palghaut*.—Palghat, a valley which breaks the line of the Western Ghats in the south of the Malabar District. The highest point in the valley is about 500 feet above sea level, and the valley is about 25 miles broad in its narrowest part near the town of Palghat. The Raja was one of those who, with the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin, ruled over Malabar from early times. It was absorbed by Hyder and the Raja was not reinstated. The family are no longer recognized.

<sup>2</sup> *Animally*.—Anaimalai. The Anaimalai hills lie on the southwestern frontier of Coimbatore District. They are covered with dense forests, now cleared in parts for the cultivation of tea and rubber. Hyder marched at the foot and came into the district near Pollachi about 25 miles south of the town of Coimbatore.

began to abate, moved with a light equipment of eight days' provisions by forced marches to Munjera.<sup>1</sup> Hence, as a central station, he sent detachments in various directions. The troops now acted upon better information, and surprised and slew the insulated bodies of Nairs, whose insurrection had been made without any head to direct or arrange a general combination of their efforts. The prisoners taken in the first attacks were either beheaded or hanged; but as their numbers increased, Hyder conceived the plan of sparing them for the use of his former territories. This cure for rebellion in one province, and for defective population in another, of which such numerous examples occur in the Jewish history, was not successfully practised by Hyder. In a forcible emigration of a multitude of human beings, it would be inconsistent with the barbarous nature of the design that the arrangements for the subsistence of the captives should be made with scrupulous care: the diseases to which all Indians, and particularly the natives of Malabar, are subject on a sudden change of climate, were super-added to hunger and mental misery; and of fifteen thousand who were removed, it is supposed that two hundred did not survive the experiment.\*

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<sup>1</sup> *Munjera*.—Manjeri, the headquarters of the Ernad Taluq, Malabar, about 6 miles north-east of Malapuram. The latter place is the headquarters of the special police force and of a detachment of an European regiment, kept here to preserve peace in the district. In the recent Moplah disturbances this area was the centre of severe fighting, when a very large force of Indian and European troops were necessary to restore order.

\* We shall have occasion hereafter to describe more extensive experiments of this nature, followed by results as horrible.

[Close attachment to their homes is a very strong characteristic of the people of Malabar, both Nairs and Mapillas. The attempt made some years ago to form a regiment of Mapillas failed, chiefly because it was found that the dry hot sun of the hot weather in the north of India, affected the men, accustomed as they had been to living under dense shade in their own country, while they also suffered much from nostalgia.]



After this example Hyder proclaimed an amnesty to such of the remaining inhabitants as should immediately submit to the conqueror: considerable numbers of those who had taken refuge in the woods returned to their habitations, and a deceitful calm succeeded the terrors of the late agitation. Hyder supposed that he had established an effectual and permanent tranquillity, and returned to Coimbetoor. On his route he gave orders for the erection of the present fort of Palgaut (Palioacherry),<sup>1</sup> a position judiciously selected as an advanced post and depot, and for securing at all times an easy communication between the new conquests in Malabar and his fixed resources in the province of Coimbetoor, from the capital of which it was distant only thirty miles.

A body of four thousand cavalry, which his emissaries had been sent to engage in the territories of the Mahratta state of Najpore, were reviewed at Coimbetoor, and seemed to arrive at a proper season to oppose a more formidable confederacy than Hyder had ever sustained. Madoo Row had issued from Poona; Nizam Alee, aided by an English corps, was approaching from Hyderabad<sup>2</sup>; and all were confederated, according to report, for purposes hostile to Mysore. The approach of these powers was certain; but the nature of their concert or ultimate designs was not accurately known to Hyder. In every event it was necessary to proceed without delay to Seringapatam for the purpose of making the most vigorous

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<sup>1</sup> The fort at Palghat stands about two miles north of the town of Palghat. The fort is now used as the office of the Tasildar, the local revenue official. Being the key to Travancore and Malabar from the east, it was formerly of considerable strategic importance.

<sup>2</sup> By the treaty of the 12th November 1766, the Madras Government had agreed to pay an annual rent of eight lakhs of rupees for the Circars, to leave Basalat Jang in possession of Guntur for the term of his life, and to afford aid to the Nizam in the settlement of his own affairs. This condition led to the war with Hyder Ali.

preparations. He arrived at the capital about the commencement of the year 1767; and while the 1767. military preparations were in progress, a civil arrangement, which now had sunk into a very subordinate degree of importance, also engaged his attention

In April, 1766, the pageant Raja Chick Kishen Raj Wadeyar died; and Hyder, while occupied in Malabar, had sent orders, with all the indifference attached to an affair of ordinary routine, to go through the usual formalities of establishing as his successor his eldest son Nunjeraj Wadeyar, a young man then about eighteen years of age. Hyder, on his arrival at the capital, went through the ceremonial, from which habit and public opinion had not yet exempted him, of paying his public respects as a subject to his sovereign: he had, however, discovered that the youth since his mock elevation had betrayed some of those feelings of human nature which the habitual degradation of a splendid imprisonment had not absolutely extinguished; and these feelings Hyder deemed it necessary to crush before they should gather strength. It will be recollected, that districts to the annual amount of three lacs of pagodas had been allotted for the personal maintenance of the Raja; these were now resumed, and the palace was plundered of all the cash and valuables which had been saved from that income, with the single exception of the ornaments which the women had actually on their persons at the time that Hyder's myrmidons entered to execute his orders. A new and reduced arrangement of the household was enforced, which left none but Hyder's spies within the palace gates; and these precautions for internal security were adjusted without any interruption to the singular defensive measures against external attack, which we shall have occasion to describe, or to the most active preparations for an efficient military equipment.

The eventful war which commenced in 1767 and terminated in 1769, involved the interests and exercised the arms of all the principal powers of the south of India: and a clear and connected explanation of its causes shall be attempted in the succeeding chapter. The history of the British policy in India is not the direct object of the present work; but its intimate connection with the affairs of Mysoor may render it necessary to premise, that the treaty of Paris, which terminated the war between France and England on the 10th of February, 1763, *acknowledged Salabut Jung as lawful Soubah of the Deckan*, at a time when that office had, for upwards of a year and a half, been publicly and formally assumed by his brother: for Nizam Alee,\* who murdered Salabut Jung in September, 1763, had imprisoned him, and ascended the Musnud on the 18th of July, 1761. By the same article† of the treaty of Paris, Mohammed Ali was acknowledged by the two powers *as the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic*; and the competition of English and French Nabobs having thus ceased, we shall henceforth distinguish Mohammed Ali by this his acknowledged designation.

The literal import of this title; namely, "the lawful deputy of a superior not named, in the government of a country miscalled and undefined," is only noticed for the purpose of illustrating the revolution of words and things, to which we have formerly adverted. The political meaning of the title must be sought in the intention of the contracting parties, who profess these acknowledgments to be made *in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Oriza*. Without stopping at present to enquire whether the acknowledgment of Mohammed Ali ought to be interpreted simply as a renuncia-

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\* There was no affectation of ruling in the name of his brother. In his letters to Madras, Nizam Alee announces that the *king of Delhi* had displaced Salabut Jung for misconduct.

† Eleventh Article.

tion of future support to other candidates, or, in the construction afterwards assumed, as a direct recognition of sovereign authority; it would seem to be unquestionable that a measure apparently intended to compose the agitations in which this Nabob was concerned, tended only to stimulate an ambition too large for his talents, a corruption too prodigal for his means, and a combination of foreign and domestic intrigue, tending to objects of which he had probably never formed a distinct conception, profitable alone to the instruments employed, and to himself productive of nothing but misfortune.

Whether the peace of 1763, which delivered the English Company from serious impediments to the prosecution of their commercial concerns, left them also free to abstain from views of political aggrandizement, is a question which applies with the same force to every subsequent period of the British history in India, as to the short and important interval from 1763 to 1765, which placed the revenues of Bengal at the uncontrolled disposal of the English Company. To generalize and resolve this difficult and important question is, in effect, to determine whether human affairs can be rendered stationary by human wisdom.

The wisdom and virtue of political moderation, and the inexpediency and injustice of aggressive wars, are among those propositions familiarly denominated *truisms*, which more frequently pass through the ear than the understanding, and extend themselves over so large a surface as scarcely to be any where distinctly tangible. Nature has erected no visible boundaries to mark the proper extent of political power; and moderation, that word of amiable sound, which changes its meaning in the concerns of private life at every step from one hundred to one hundred thousand, is as perfect a Proteus in the political vocabulary: while in the very act of applying its ever varying form, ambition will not fail to whisper, that the fundamental principles and proportions which

regulate a smaller scale remain precisely the same in the construction of a larger. We can scarcely conceive that the great and enlightened statesman who directed the affairs of Bengal in 1765, and seized with his characteristic penetration and promptitude the combination of circumstances, which, without previous design, led to an aggrandisement of unexampled rapidity and extent, intended to arraign the past by condemning its application to the future; nor can we in justice to his memory suppose, that in retiring from the scene of his past glory, and deprecating an extension of the British dominions, he contemplated any other than the existing condition of his own and the surrounding states, or meant to inculcate the expediency of the same measures under every possible variation of circumstances. To determine the evanescent line which separates moderation from ambition would seem to be a problem beyond the reach of general rules, and to require a consideration of the facts of each individual case, for its solution. The lights to guide our opinion on a question which appears simple to those only who confine their examination to its surface, must therefore be derived from a close attention to the progress of events. Without presuming to instruct the reader, the means of forming or revising his own judgment will be found in the series of more tardy steps which, from the year 1765 to 1799, tended with considerable fluctuation to a similar aggrandisement of the English power in the south of India. The principal events of these thirty-four years belong to the direct scope of our future narrative; and if precarious health should admit, and public opinion should not discourage the design, an attempt shall be made to relate them with fidelity.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

*Consequences of the diplomatic error in the treaty of Paris—of deriving rights from the extinct authority of the Mogul—General Calliaud's treaty with Nizam Ali—vague, and at variance with the views of Lord Clive—Complex views of the parties in the war which ensued—Hyder's plan of defence by the desolation of his own country—discussed—Description of reservoirs peculiar to the south of India—Mahrattas not arrested—capture Sera—Defection of Meer Saheb—Hyder attempts negotiation—Amusing specimen of Indian diplomacy—succeeds in purchasing the retreat of the Mahrattas—General Smith and Nizam Ali advance to co-operate with the Mahrattas against Hyder—find themselves over-reached and ridiculed—continue to advance—Nizam Ali's secret negotiations with Hyder—Open mockery of the English—General Smith retires towards his own frontier—Hyder relieves himself from the domestic danger of the intrigues of Nunjeraj—Singular generosity of Nizam Ali before uniting with Hyder against the English—Hostile operations of the English in Baramahal—Capture of numerous places of little importance.*

BY the treaty of peace between France and England concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, the former had renounced all pretensions to its acquisitions on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa; and each agreed to restore what had been conquered from the other. Salabut Jung, who had long been deposed by his younger brother, was, by the singular diplomatic error already noticed, acknowledged to be

the *lawful* Sooba (Soobadâr) of Decan ; and Mahomed Ali, who had supplanted his elder brother in such rights as either of them possessed, was recognized as the *lawful* nabob of Carnatic. Two European nations had thus assumed to themselves the right of conferring the official appointments, and determining the interior arrangements of the Mogul empire ; and Mahommed Ali who, as a servant of that state, could not, by any extravagance of assumption, claim a higher rank than that of deputy's deputy, began very prudently to rest his pretensions to a non-descript authority, on the legality very imprudently recognized by two powers far more competent to decide a questionable claim. In the eager anticipation of boundless dominion, the limits of this newly-created sovereignty, became too narrow for his growing fortunes. The Soubadaree of Decan, including the whole South, was the lowest but the most immediate object of his grasp. The projects concerted for its attainment were more open and undisguised than was consistent with the practical and sober prosecution of less difficult achievements, and the inflated ambition of this political pretender was nourished and incited by the still more absurd and corrupt counsels of his European advisers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The relations of the English to Mahammad Âli Khan during the war with the French had been such as to lead him to suppose that he was more important to them than was the case. After the battle of Plassey in 1757, in reply to a letter from Clive informing him of his victory, the Nawab wrote: "By the Favour of God and your Bravery I hope to get Possession of Bengal." (M. Sun. Vol. X, 5th September 1757, quoted in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*. Vol. II, p. 481.) He was always in financial difficulties, and in 1858, the Government of Madras proposed that he should come to Madras and make over his districts to the Company, a proposal he absolutely refused. He, however, came to live in Madras in December 1858. In 1763, the Nawab was induced to assign extensive districts round Conjeveram as a gift to the Company, in return for their assistance to him, and while his financial difficulties were becoming heavier, by the treaty of Paris in the same year, he was recognized as an independent

In the month of July 1765, Maphuz Khan, whose pretensions had yielded of necessity to the better fortunes of his younger brother, had professed, in the ordinary practice of those Asiatics whom the world has not favoured, to renounce the world ; and had taken leave of Mahommed Ali, with the declared intention of proceeding on a pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca, as the first and most meritorious step in a life of austere devotion. The route of the pilgrim to his port of embarkation at Mangalore, led him near to the camp of Hyder Ali then engaged in the conquest of Malabar ; and these vows, whether the offspring of disordered fancy, or affected sanctity, quickly yielded to the worldly temptations of a jageer, and a public employment, which Hyder offered to his acceptance. The developement of the extravagant plans of Mahommed Ali, suggested to Hyder the project of employing the elder brother of his own rival, as the fittest instrument to concert with Nizam Ali the means of mutual security and joint retaliation ; and Maphuz Khan was accordingly dispatched to Decan as the agent of Hyder, and the advocate of his own cause.

Lord Clive on receiving from the Mogul the dewannee of Bengal in 1765, had solicited and procured at the same time royal grants, conferring on the English East India company, the possession of the northern sircars,<sup>1</sup> and in dispatching them to Madras,

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prince, and in 1765, the Mogul conferred on him the title of *Walajah*. He was styled "Excellency" and became an object of attention, not only from the Local Government, but from the Directors and the King. Meanwhile the Nawab was in a reckless manner involving himself in debt, to an extent which made any possibility of repayment out of the question. He borrowed in all directions, and among his creditors were servants of the Company, including the Governor and Members of Council. All these matters eventually became the subject of investigation by Parliament when Burke made his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, February 28th, 1785.

<sup>1</sup> "The expression 'the Circars' was first used by the French in the time of Bussy for the Nizam's government of the country



had enjoined the necessity of immediate occupation, which had accordingly been in a great degree\* effected in 1766. But after thus seizing, under the direct authority of the Mogul, this extensive territory as an independent possession, it was deemed wise by the government of Madras, to send an embassy to Nizam Ali, which negotiated a treaty, submitting to hold it as a *free gift*, and tributary dependency from this avowed inferior and equivocal deputy, to whose exclusion it had been conferred, and in despite of whom it had been seized. It is not here intended to discuss the suggestions which have been mixed with our earlier investigations,† regarding the moral or political force of either the authority or the act which has now been described; but to mark in all these transactions, the vicious preference for ostensible dependence, and the

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from a little south of the Kistna to Orissa. The circars of Chicacole, now Vizagapatam District, Rajamundry and Ellore now in Godavery District, and Condapelly now in Kistna District, were the subject of a grant from the great Moghul obtained by Clive in 1765, confirmed by the treaty with the Nizam in 1766. . . . The tract lay about between lat. 15° 40' to 20° 17', long. 79° 12' to 85° 20'." (*Madras Manual of Administration*. Vol. III.)

\* The exceptions were Chicacole and Guntoor.

["In October 1765, the Council at Madras advised the Directors that Lord Clive had, at the instance of Mr. Palk, the President at Fort St. George, obtained sunnuds from the Moghul for all the five Northern Circars and a confirmation of the jagheer granted by the Nawab to the Company near Madras. It was judged prudent to defer taking immediate possession of the Circars, as the Council were not aware how far they might be required to send aid in troops to Bengal. The revenue for the next year had been anticipated by Hossain Ally, to enable him to make good his payments to the Nizam and support his troops in that part of the country. The sunnuds were, however, published at Masulipatam, and received there with general satisfaction. A military force was sent, under General Calliaud, to support the authority of the grantees, and the fort of Condapilly, which in a great measure secured the pass into the Circars, and resisted his entrance, was carried by assault." (*Madras Manual of Administration*. Vol. I, p. 180 note.)

† Pp. 285-6 and pp. 290-1.

unprofitable and degrading tendency of political simulation.<sup>1</sup>

Although an anticipation of subsequent events,

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<sup>1</sup> The treaty with Nizam Ali of the 12th November, 1766, is discussed in Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I, p. 553. He remarks that the Court of Directors were "anxious to attain two objects which they deemed of vital importance to their security." The first had to do with the government of Bombay, the second was the occupation by the English of the Northern Circars. Of these, Guntoor was appropriated as the jagir of Basalut Jung, while the Nizam, who had offered to farm out the remaining four to Mohammed Ali, as Nawab of Arcot, it was hoped, might allow the English to occupy them on the same terms. Although the Madras Government offered six times more than the Nizam had ever received for them, he refused to accept their proposal. In consequence, Lord Clive obtained the direct grant of them from the Moghul Emperor. The Madras Government then occupied Rajamundry by force, upon which the Nizam, treating as mockery all assurances from the Government of Madras, incited Hyder Ali to invade the Carnatic. The Madras Government then tried to form an alliance with Hyder, who refused to receive the envoy sent to conduct negotiations. Lord Clive then recommended a connection with the Nizam, and the Hyderabad treaty followed. Sir Robert Palk, the Governor of Madras from 1763 to 1767, conducted these negotiations. His account of them is given in a letter written in England after his retirement in 1767. (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 60.) He describes his attempts, first to set on foot negotiations with Hyder, through Mr. Bouchier, a Member of the Council, whom Hyder refused to see, then his attempt to negotiate with the Nizam, through Muhammed Ali, which was equally unsuccessful, and last his despatch of General Caillaud: "Accordingly General Caillaud went and concluded the treaty which gave us quiet possession of the circars, and what we judged of equal consequence, an easy method of putting an end to the views of Hyder Aly on the Carnateck, without making ourselves principals, by obliging him to pay his long arrears of tribute to Nizam Aly, to confine himself within the bounds of the antient kingdom of Misore and to leave the Nabob in possession of the passes, which it was our intention, as well as the Company's orders, to take possession of as soon as possible, but which would never be done without coming to hostilities, most of them having been formerly surprized by Hyder Aly; and without these it was in the power of every petty Polligar to disturb the peace of the Nabob's country from Tinnavilly to Cadapa, a length of 700 miles."

it affords a striking illustration of these observations, that when the Mahratta chief, Madajee Sindia<sup>1</sup> obtained possession of the person of the Mogul, he extorted from that unfortunate prince, a patent appointing the Peshwa *vakeel ul mutluck* (absolute vicegerent), and Sindia himself the naib or deputy of that imaginary officer: the patent and seals were expedited to Poona, but were never used by that state: a remarkable example of a feeling of dignity in a Mahratta, superior to that of a British Government. Sindia however was not so scrupulous, and in his subordinate capacity exercised, in the most absolute manner, the whole authority of the Mogul empire, to the full extent that his means admitted. In the whole of the political transactions of India, we perceive Hindoos, Mahommedans, French, and English, searching for a shadow, to sanction their pretensions, instead of resting their claims on more substantial grounds. In the course of events, however, the shadow and the substance have both fallen into the hands of the English; and on their part at least, it is time that the scene of simulation should finally close. The treaty with Nizam Ali, which was concluded at Hyderabad by General Calliaud on the 12th November 1766, made a temporary exception in favour of the Sircar of Guntour, which formed a part of the Jageer of Baslutjung, and was not to be possessed by the English until his death, unless his conduct should prove inimical to that nation. It was also agreed that an English auxiliary force, indefinite in strength, and equally loose in its application, should be at the disposal of Nizam Ali, "to settle the affairs of his government in every thing that is right and proper;" and as he was at this very time concerting with the Mahrattas, a plan for the conquest or plunder of Mysoor, it was distinctly understood that this was the first service on which the auxiliary troops were to

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<sup>1</sup> *Madajee Sindia*.—Mahadaji Sindia, in 1784. (For a full account of this incident see Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 162.)

be employed ; although Lord Clive had expressly suggested that any aid which might be afforded to Nizam Ali, should be directed to restrain the formidable power of the Mahrattas, instead of co-operating for their aggrandizement. To check the growing ambition of Hyder in any direction which might affect the British interests, was in his judgment an object of legitimate policy ; but to crush the only power in the South who had been able to oppose any respectable resistance to the aggressions of the Mahratta states, and who formed, if his friendship could be secured, a barrier between them and the Company's dominions, was in direct opposition to the views of that profound statesman. This policy, however, unless directed by the hand of a master, is certainly of a most equivocal character. If an intermediate state be capable, from its strength, of becoming a real barrier, it is also liable, from the same cause, to become an object of jealousy. If too weak for its purpose of defence, it only courts aggression from abroad ; and instead of a barrier, it becomes the high road of invasion.

Colonel Joseph Smith,<sup>1</sup> who arrived in India in September, 1766, was selected to proceed to Hyderabad, for the purpose of *concerting the details of this co-operation, and commanding the troops*. The unofficial narrative of this officer, (unpublished and unrecorded,) which after the conclusion of the war he addressed to his friend, Lord Clive, in explanation of his own conduct, and the journal of an officer\* of

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<sup>1</sup> General Joseph Smith, son of Mr. Joseph Smith, who was Gunner and Engineer of Fort St. George in 1744, entered the Madras service as Ensign in 1749. In 1757 he defended Trichinopoly against D'Auteuil, and was promoted Major in 1760. As Brigadier-General he commanded the Madras Army almost continuously from 1767 to 1775, conducting the campaigns against Hyder Ali and the Raja of Tanjore, and the expedition of 1772 against the Maravars. He retired to England in 1775. (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 23, note.)

\* Sir Henry Cosby.

[Captain Henry Augustus Cosby commanded a battalion of

deserved reputation, who bore a distinguished part in the military operations, enables us to compare and correct what is deficient in the public records ; and a short preliminary view of the objects and designs of the principal powers who were parties in these transactions, is necessary for rendering distinct and intelligible a narrative of events which might otherwise appear to be intricate.

Every confederacy of the Mahrattas, with whatever power, has uniformly two distinct objects, which follow each other in regular order : the first, anticipation in plunder during the confederacy<sup>1</sup>; and the second, exclusive conquest after its close.

Mahommed Ali's secret views were directed to the deposition of both Nizam Ali and Hyder ; and they were meditating a counterplot for deposing Mahommed Ali. Nizam Ali was moving to the south for the promised co-operation with the Mahrattas ; having the option, also in his hands, of employing the English force against Hyder ; of directing Hyder's force against them and Mahommed Ali ; or of successively adopting both these combinations, if both should promise to replenish his military chest. According to the second of these plans, Hyder was to be the future nabob of Arcot, by the mock authority of Nizam Ali, because he was able to aid in his own elevation ; and Maphuz Khân was to be amused with indefinite expectations, because he could furnish neither troops nor talents. Mahommed Ali deprecated the royal grant of the Sircars, because the same authority might

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native infantry in the First Mysore War, 1767-69. In 1774 he became Adjutant-General of the Madras Army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and three years later conducted a force against the Poligars of Chittoor. He afterwards served in the Second Mysore War, and died in 1787. (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 488, note.)

<sup>1</sup> Grant Duff notes that Madhu Rao's treaty with Hyder was no ordinary Mahratta artifice, but was a measure perfectly justifiable for the purpose of effecting an important political object. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. I, p. 554.)

with equal facility, have been brought to confer on the English Company the possession of Arcot ; he had learned with deep apprehension the orders for seizing those provinces in the name of the Company, as indicating more distinct views of their actual situation than had yet been exhibited at Madras, and a more manly assertion of the character which they were entitled to assume ; he accordingly viewed with complacency an arrangement inexplicable on any grounds that are fit to be avowed, by which the Government of Madras, continuing the absurd policy which had effected his own unconditional elevation, gratuitously bowed the neck as tributaries to a new master. This convenient humility reconciled him also to the union of the British Government with his rival Nizam Ali ; because their fond election of the secondary place in politics, and of the first in peril, and the absence of all definite compact in their relative situation with himself, left to him in his newly assumed character of the sovereign of Carnatic, the claim to all the benefits of their combined efforts, in a war ostensibly undertaken for the reduction of the power of Hyder ; who, (in the loose and misapplied acceptation of a geographical term) had made encroachments on *Carnatic*, of which the conquest of Kurpa was confidently cited as a prominent example ; and on these grounds Mahommed Ali became more urgent than any of the coalesced powers for engaging in the war against Hyder. After this brief description of the designs of the other powers, it is scarcely necessary to add, that the English were about to engage in the contest, in the exclusive character of dupes. "The Company (say the Government of Bengal in 1765) are put to the choice of remaining as merchants, subject to the country governments, or supporting their privileges and possessions by the power of the sword ;" but it was in Bengal alone that a mind\*

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\* The great Lord Clive.

(In a despatch, dated September 30, 1765. Clive stated : "You

existed capable of comprehending, in all its relations, the true nature of the character which they were thus compelled to assume.

To the negotiation confided to Maphuz Khan, for averting one branch of the danger which threatened Mysoor, a fruitless attempt had been added to purchase the retreat of Madoo Row,\* the Mahratta chief; who professed nothing short of the entire subversion of Hyder's usurped authority. The amount of the Mahratta force, and Hyder's experience of the talents by which it was directed, determined him not to risque his own army beyond the protection of the capital; and to have recourse to other modes of impeding the enemy's progress. In conformity to this new plan of defence, he issued the most peremptory orders to all his officers, civil and military, to break down the embankments of the reservoirs of water, on the approach of the Mahratta army; to poison the wells with milk hedge†; to burn all the forage, even to the thatch of the houses; to bury the grain; to drive off the wulsa,‡ and the cattle to the woods; and to leave to the Mahrattas neither forage, water, nor food.

The reservoirs in question, peculiar to the south of *India*, (unless indeed the lake Mœris, may be supposed to have resembled them, by distributing as

are now become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom; your success is beheld with jealousy by the other European nations in India, and your interests are so extended, so complicated, and so connected with those of the several surrounding powers, as to form a nice and difficult system of politics." (Forrest: *Life of Lord Clive*. Vol. II, p. 309.)

\* Properly Mahádeo Row. [Madhu Rao.]

† *Euphorbia Tiraculli*.

["A shrub or small tree, with cylindrical green branches the thickness of a lead pencil, which is often to be seen round villages in the drier parts of South India and Ceylon though not really a native." (Fyson: *A Botany for India*, p. 379. Madras, 1912.)]

‡ For an explanation of this term, see p. 344.

well as receiving the superfluous waters of the Nile) may seem to merit a short description.

The converging points of two ranges of hills are sometimes united by an embankment, and the vale above is converted into a lake. One of these which I sounded, at the distance of a few yards from the embankment, was thirty-two fathoms in depth, measured by a native of ordinary stature. In plain countries, a gentle descent is intersected by a horizontal line of embankment for many miles: the excavation to form the embankment, becomes the deepest part of the reservoir, the shallowest extending backwards, as far as the point of intersection with the sloping plain, formed by an horizontal line, passing from near the summit of the bank. In countries of an intermediate character, *feeders*\* in the form of trenches extending along the sides of the swelling eminences, intercept the rain which falls above on an area of many square miles to be conveyed to the reservoir, and the overflow of rivers in the rainy season is led wherever practicable to replenish the artificial lake. Effectual provision is always made for discharging the superfluous water: and a simple contrivance opens or stops the channel by which these accumulated treasures are made to irrigate the greater part of the rice grounds of the South of India. An effectual breach in such an embankment, of course discharges the water, and in a few days converts the lake into a bed of mud.

The perfect execution of such a scheme of defence requires that the body of the population should feel an interest in its success; but the interests of the people do not enter into the calculations of an unenlightened despot; and the reader must be aware that the actual administration of affairs had little tendency to produce examples of

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\* I think this is the technical term of the English canal makers.



self-devotion, or to shake the characteristic indifference of the Hindoos in a choice of masters. Repeated experience has since shewn that however efficacious against a regular army, the project is mere theory, against the overwhelming mass of a genuine Mahratta invasion; which, instead of moving in regular columns, whose route and intentions may be foreseen, and counteracted; covers the whole face of the country; and almost divests of poetic fiction the Mahommedan illustration which compares them to a cloud of locusts. Such a plan may distress, but cannot stop such an army: forage\* exists independently of dry straw: the cavalry even of an English army subsists on the roots of grass: the sudden and unwilling exertions of a district can neither destroy nor poison all its reservoirs: the discovery of buried grain has become a practical trade: men furnished with pointed rods of iron thrust them deep into the ground, and from the sound, the resistance, and above all from the smell of the point when withdrawn, form their conclusions with surprising sagacity; and finally, cattle cannot retire where they cannot be pursued and found. The Mahrattas accordingly made good their march across this imperfect desert; and Madoo Row who had pushed on to Raidroog early in February, followed the course of the Hogree,<sup>1</sup> a river in its appointed season, but then exhibiting an arid bed of sand. A sufficient supply of water was however found by digging as is usual,

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\* Necessity has since instructed the natives of countries subject to Mahratta invasion, to bury even their forage in immense subterraneous pits.

<sup>1</sup> *Hogree*.—Hagari, a river which rises in Mysore, and flows 125 miles into the Tungabhadra, through the Bellary District, Madras; a shallow, broad stream, bordered on each side by wide belts of sand. An elaborate system of channels, dug every year, when the river is low, conveys the subterraneous water to the rice and sugarcane fields, which lie along both banks of the river. The head waters of the river are near Sira, in the Tumkur District, Mysore.

shallow pits beneath its surface; which enabled Madoo Row, without impediment, or material distress, to reach Sera. Meer\* Saheb the brother-in-law of Hyder was stationed at this place with 4000 horse and 6000 infantry, chiefly irregular, and to him Madoo Row proposed a capitulation which was gladly accepted; by which he betrayed his trust; gave up the fort and district of Sera; and received in return, as a Mahratta dependency, the fort and district of Goorumconda,<sup>1</sup> 150 miles to the eastward, which had formerly been possessed by one of his† ancestors. This unexpected defection, added to the probable influence of his misfortunes on the politics of Nizam Ali, who was approaching as a gleaner, after the Mahrattas should have gathered the harvest, determined Hyder to repeat his efforts at

\* Meer Ali Reza Khan.

<sup>1</sup> *Goorumconda*.—Gurram Konda, a village and hill fort in Vayalpad Taluq, Chittoor District, Madras, 50 miles S.S.W. from Cuddapah. An important fortress on the summit of an almost inaccessible hill. A portion of the old palace is still used as a traveller's rest house. Near the fort is the tomb of Mir Raza Ali Khan, uncle of Tippu, with several carved Mussalman buildings. The fort was built or improved by the Golconda dynasty.

† His grandfather was an orphan, and was provided for by the Kuttub Shahee Court of Golconda, according to an established practice of that dynasty, by which all orphans of the Shééa persuasion, male and female, were educated in distinct wards of the palace, under the respective patronage of the King and his chief begum; and at the age of puberty intermarried. The grandfather of Meer Ali Reza, thus educated, was distinguished by court favour, and had the fort and district of Goorumconda assigned to him in jageer. The son of this Jageerdar (the father of Meer Saheb), was dispossessed by the Patan Nabob of Kurpa, who, at a subsequent period had purchased the retreat of a Mahratta invasion by the cession of Goorumconda. It now returned to the family of its former possessor. Meer Saheb, born to better prospects, became, at an early age, in consequence of the misfortunes of his father, a mere soldier of fortune, and not of very promising fortune, as we may infer, by his having given his sister in marriage to Hyder Naick, during the campaign of 1750.

negotiation. Mádoo Row peremptorily refused to receive any ambassador who should not be furnished with full and final powers, for the execution of which his own person should be the guarantee. Apajee Ram, a bramin in the service of Hyder was selected for this delicate service : his acceptance of the trust evinced a reciprocal confidence worthy of a better state of society, and in this his first diplomatic essay, some traits of personal character were unfolded which reflect a corresponding light on the national manners of a Mahratta camp. Apajee Ram was received by Mádoo Row in the great tent of audience, in a full durbar, consisting of all his officers of state, and chiefs of the army, amounting to near four hundred persons. After the inspection of his powers, he was referred for details to the Putwurdun,\* and directed immediately to proceed, in open durbar, to explain to him the business of his mission, Mádoo Row himself affecting to be occupied with other concerns. The envoy was not discouraged by these affected indications of indifference; he made no objection to the unusual demand of entering on business in the first audience of ceremony, but commenced his speech without a moment's hesitation. In an exordium of some eloquence, he expatiated in a pathetic strain on the miseries of war, and on the moral obligations of those to whom Providence had confided the destinies of nations, to confer on their people the blessings of peace. He then proceeded in a clear and business-like train of argument to represent, that Hyder considered every cause of dispute to have been settled by the peace of Bednoor; and that he was not aware of any deviation from his engagements which could justify the present invasion.

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\* The ancestor of the late Perseam Bhow. *Putwurdun*.

[Parasurām Bhāv Patvardhan belonged to a powerful Mahratta Brahmin family. For an account of him and his family, see Grant Duff : *History of the Mahrattas*.]

The Putwurdun replied that the peace of Bednoor was concluded with *the Raja*; that since that period it had become notorious that the Raja was a prisoner, and Hyder an usurper; and that the liberation of the Raja, and his restoration to his legitimate authority, were essential towards establishing the previous relations of the parties on which Hyder had founded his complaints of aggression. A general murmur of approbation throughout the assembly, announced that this argument was considered unanswerable.

Apajee Ram, in a tone of repentant humility, acknowledged that the Raja was virtually a state pageant in the hands of Hyder; but, added he, with an immoveable gravity of countenance, the arrangement is not an invention of our own, but a distant and respectful imitation of the conduct of our betters; and if those eminent authorities will lead the way in the moral doctrines they inculcate, we shall unquestionably be ready to follow so laudable an example. The reader will of course recollect, that the Mahratta Raja, the descendant of Sevagee, was a prisoner in Sittara, and that Mádoo Row the Peshwa or general, was hereditary usurper.

Mádoo Row hung down his head, the whole assembly refrained with difficulty from a burst of laughter, and the ground was quickly cleared for actual business. The preliminary points were soon understood, and in a private audience, to which he was admitted on the following day, the retreat of the Mahratta host was purchased for thirty-five lacs of rupees, half of which was paid on the spot late in the month of March. Mádoo Row had obtained possession of all the districts of Mysoor to the south-eastward of Sera, and the treaty provided for the immediate restoration of the whole, with the single exception of the fort and district of Colar, which remained in pledge for the payment of the remaining sum of seventeen and a half lacs of rupees. But this

sum being also discharged in conformity to the treaty early in the month of May, Mádoo Row finally evacuated Colar, and turned his face towards Poona.

The influence of wit and humour on the formality and selfishness of political discussions belongs to the legitimate province of history, and may be deemed still more appropriate when intended to convey a living transcript of national manners which are little understood. Critics who plead for the dignity of history have not always the same respect for its gravity, and may deem the considerations which have been stated to constitute a sufficient apology for the following additional anecdote.

Apajee Ram was sent to Poona on a subsequent occasion, and being somewhat free in his private conduct, his manner of life was reported to Mádoo Row, who like most Asiatic chiefs was addicted to loose conversation, and pleased with the impure wit arising from such discussions. Apajee, said he, my female subjects complain that you are intolerable, and beg that you may be sent away. "Their complaints have some foundation," said Apajee, "and pray, Sir, relieve your female subjects by dispatching my business." A smile was on the side of Apajee, but he was not satisfied with the success of his retort, and shortly afterwards taking his leave, stopped at the outer door, and as the durbar was breaking up, imitating the tone of the public crier, proclaimed in a loud voice, "A miserable sinner stands in the door, let all who have not transgressed put their hands on his head,\* declare their innocence, and pass on ; let his fellow sinners acknowledge their faults and endeavour to amend." A roar of laughter was on the side of Apajee ; none touched his head ; all acknowledged themselves of his fraternity ; and Mádoo Row, in making his confession, ornamented

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\* To swear by the head of a bramin, touching it with the right hand, is among the most solemn forms of adjuration.

the penitent with a valuable decoration of pearls and diamonds from his own neck.<sup>1</sup>

During this negotiation, by which Hyder had delivered himself from the most formidable of his enemies, and felt more at ease regarding the disposal of the remainder, Nizam Ali approached, at the interval of a full month later than Mádoo Row, by a more eastern route, the resources of which were, by compact, to have furnished his supplies, but had already been rifled by the Mahrattas. A formidable English corps was moving in separate columns, to form a junction with him on the northern frontier of Mysoor; and the tributary powers in the route, were summoned to join the standard; but by the time this tardy host, levying revenues on its own subjects, by the power of the sword, to provide for its immediate necessities, had reached the river Toombuddra, on the 9th of March, intelligence was received, that Mádoo Row had taken Sera; and, on the 24th of the same month, that his retreat had been purchased by Hyder. Colonel Smith, who from the first day after joining Nizam Ali, began to suspect that his own government had engaged in what he terms a *disjointed expedition*, strongly urged, in his dispatches of the 9th of March, the indispensable necessity of insisting on the adjustment of "some reasonable plan of action; without this preliminary," he adds, "one of three events can only happen, either Mádoo Row will do his business himself, or we shall be beaten in detail, or we shall do nothing at all;" and on the 24th, the minister of Nizam Ali avowed to him that this was

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<sup>1</sup> Grant Duff remarks on this story: "There is, however, an anecdote given by Colonel Wilks, which I must remark, respecting Appajee Ram, Vol. II, p. 14. It might do for the licentious court of Poona at any other period, but even if authentic, which I cannot discover, it conveys a wrong impression. Mahdoo Rao would excuse want of form and even an ebullition of anger, but he never tolerated indecency or impertinence." (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. I, p. 567.)

the third<sup>1</sup> conjoint expedition in which his master had been deceived by the Mahrattas in precisely the same way. While still not half way advanced towards his object, this chief began to meditate on repassing the rivers, and returning in the ensuing year ; but in order that he might not incur the shame of being doubly over-reached, he resolved to make a few marches in advance, for the purpose of accelerating the determination of Hyder, who had repeatedly urged him to accept of 20 lacs, and the promise of a fixed tribute of six, but who since his adjustment with Mádoo Row, had observed a profound silence on the subject of money, and strongly incited him to a joint retaliation on the English and Mohammed Ali : " they (the Court of Nizam Ali) have," says General Smith, " been outwitted by the Mahrattas, and are poor, indolent, rapacious, and unsystematical, themselves." Still however the armies continued to advance, Mádoo Row was encamped near Colar, while the united force of Nizam Ali and the English was moving towards him, with the feeble hope of sharing in his spoils, or prevailing on him to persevere in the original project of the war. Colonel Tod was deputed for this purpose, by Colonel Smith, and was accompanied by a confidential person on the part of Nizam Ali. The application of the latter for a part of the spoil, was treated with broad ridicule ; and Colonel Tod, on his return,

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<sup>1</sup> The minister of Nizam Ali was Ruku-ud-daula. The two previous expeditions in which Nizam Ali had been deceived by the Mahrattas were, first, in 1761 when Nizam Ali was advancing towards Poona, and destroyed the Hindu temples at Toka, on the Godaveri. which led Rámachandra Jádav and his Mahrattas, who had served with the Hyderabad troops since 1756 under Salabut Jung, to desert to the Peshwa ; and secondly, the action of Jānoji Bhoislé, the son of Raghují Bhoislé, who in 1768 deserted from the Mahrattas to Nizam Ali, and later, when Nizam Ali's troops were marching on Aurangabad, quitted the camp of the Hyderabad force and enabled Raghunáth Ráo after a rapid march to rout the Mogul army on the Godaveri river. (Grant Duff : *History of the Mahrattas.*)

reported,\* "that when he declared to Mádoo Row, that he was come to talk on business, they (the Mahratta durbar) could not keep their countenances, but burst out a laughing in his face.<sup>1</sup>"

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\* Letter from Mr. James Bouchier and Colonel Smith, 3d May, 1767. When Colonel Smith had plainly intimated to government his opinion of the necessity of more vigorous councils, they sent Mr. Bouchier to relieve him from a portion of his political cares.

[Charles Tod was, as Captain, commandant of sepoys during the siege of Madras of 1758-59, and subsequently Town Major of Fort St. George. In 1767, as Lieutenant-Colonel, he was placed in control of the whole of the native infantry. James Bouchier, was brother of Charles Bouchier, Governor of Madras. He entered the Madras Civil Service in 1751. Ten years later he was a Prize Commissary after the capture of Pondicherry, and in 1768, was a Member of Council.]

<sup>1</sup> Considerable light on these negotiations may be obtained from letters contained in the *Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, 1922, ed. by Colonel Love. In a letter dated March 19th, 1767, from Colonel John Call, a member of the Madras Council, and in the confidence of Charles Bouchier, the Governor, he encloses a copy of a memorandum he had prepared for the Governor. In that paper, he states that the Mahrattas and the Nizam both desired the reduction of Hyder's power, and while it was necessary to be cautious in contributing to the aggrandisement of the Mahrattas, it was advisable to temporise and appear to fall in with the views of the Mahrattas, in view of the necessity of removing Hyder from his position in Mysore. He feared that owing to Nizam Ali's want of money, he would be likely to be influenced by offers from Hyder; it was therefore necessary and highly advisable that the English should maintain a close connection with the Mahrattas, as in that case it was improbable that Nizam Ali would risk withdrawing from the alliance. On the other hand, there was the possibility that the Mahrattas might change sides and threaten the Deccan and the Carnatic. It was therefore advisable that somebody of political importance should be sent to maintain the alliance between the Mahrattas and Nizam Ali, while Colonel Smith engaged in his military operations. Call suggested that the English envoy should be instructed, if possible, to obtain the agreement of the two parties to the following stipulations. First, vigorous action against Hyder and no separate peace without the consent of both parties; secondly, that all forts and towns taken should be garrisoned and held by the Nizam's troops until the end of the war; thirdly, that the Raja



The Mahrattas, having previously sent their heavy equipments in advance, finally moved northwards on the 11th of May; and Nizam Ali marched on the same day towards Bangalore. The cold cloudy weather of the months of June, July, and August, which renders this climate a delightful refuge from the burning heats of the lower countries to the eastward, is preceded, in the month of May, by tremendous thunder storms, on nearly the same invariable hour of every afternoon, and the violent alternations of heat, and deluging rain which precede and follow them, had so much increased the sick of the English troops, that they were compelled to remain at

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of Mysore should be restored to power and pay a fixed tribute to Nizam Ali; fourthly, that the territory of Sira should be handed over to Nizam Ali; fifthly, that Bednur should be handed over to the Mahrattas, and restored by them to the Bednur chief's family; sixthly, that Malabar should be handed back to the former possessors of that district, the English retaining trading grants and privileges at Calicut, Tellecherry and Honore; seventhly, that the country about Bangalore should be at Nizam Ali's disposal; eighthly, that Dindigul and the districts round Ahtur in Salem and Vaneembady in North Arcot should be made over to Mohamed Ali; ninthly, that Cudapah should be restored to the Nawab of that place; tenthly, that Morari Rao should be rewarded by the grant of some territory; eleventh, that Basalat Jung and the Nawab of Kurnul should acknowledge the sovereignty of Nizam Ali and pay him tribute; twelfth, that Madhu Rao should be paid a fixed sum at the end of the war and receive Choute (one-fourth part of all the tributes received by Nizam Ali) for all the territory handed over to Nizam Ali south of the Kistna river. It is not a matter of surprize, that Madhu Rao was not attracted by these proposals, while Nizam Ali, whose great desire was to obtain by some means ready cash, who was thoroughly suspicious of the Mahrattas, and only less so of the English, was much more likely to be attracted by the proposals made to him by Hyder, than promises for the future held out to him by Mr. Bourchier. Call's comment in his letter dated April 6th, was: "If then we are disappointed, we have nothing to blame but our own sanguine hopes, which flattered us that everything would go on as we would have it. Another time we must endeavor to know what we are going about before we set out." (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, pp. 22-43.)

Deonhully, for want of the means of conveyance, which had been liberally *promised* by their good ally. Colonel Smith, who had long suspected inimical combinations, suspicions which were confirmed by finding that Nizam Ali, on entering Mysoor, treated it as a friendly country, had on the 3d of May, May 3. officially announced his conviction of the fact, and recommended to his Government the most vigorous preparations against a hostile invasion of their own territory, by the combined forces of Hyder and Nizam Ali. In consequence of these representations, the option was allowed to him, of returning to the lower countries with the troops, whenever he *and Mr. Bouchier* should deem that measure to be proper ; and they accordingly determined to present to the minister of Nizam Ali the distinct alternative, of moving the troops in that direction, or obtaining from him some satisfactory explanation of his actual intentions. Assurances of inviolable attachment, fictitious explanations of an important negotiation with Hyder, the success of which absolutely depended on the union of the English troops, and pressing intreaties to join his camp near Bangalore, again deceived them. The ground to be occupied for this purpose was marked out by the staff of the two armies ; but as the English troops entered the encampment at one point, they perceived with astonishment the troops of Nizam Ali departing at the opposite, for the purpose of marching, without explanation, to a distance of twelve miles. Hyder, who had secret reasons for suspicion, to which we shall presently advert, was not so credulous as the English : he had plainly declared his apprehension of being deceived by Nizam Ali, and his fear of moving from the protection of his capital, without some overt proof that his conjectures were groundless ; and this exhibition of open and contemptuous mockery was concerted for the purpose of satisfying all his scruples.

Colonel Smith in sullen indignation, moved with

the body of the troops towards his own frontier : his government, however, still professed to discredit the existence of an hostile confederacy : Mr. Bouchier continued to believe that something might still be effected by negotiation, and the minister of Nizam Ali cherished this easy credulity, by new and extravagant professions of sincerity ; by acquiescing in the convenience of moving the body of the English troops, for the present towards their own frontier ; and by earnestly entreating, that three battalions with their field-pieces attached, might be permitted to remain in his camp, as a demonstration of friendship and alliance ; a request which was granted, contrary to every principle of military prudence, or political dignity.

The suspicions of Hyder had in the mean while been roused by the discovery of a source of domestic danger which it was necessary to remove. When his old benefactor Nunjeraj was last reconciled and undeceived, a stipulation had been made, and hitherto observed, for his residing in a certain degree of dignity at Mysoor ; and it was now ascertained, that he had long been engaged in secret correspondence with Mádoo Row, and Nizam Ali, for the destruction of Hyder, whose power he represented, with truth, to have been founded on the infraction of every bond of gratitude, and all the duties of allegiance ; and the object of these negotiations was to subvert the usurpation of Hyder, and restore the Hindoo government ; or rather, in point of fact, to revive his own previous usurpation. Hyder, in consequence of this discovery, sent repeated messages to Nunjeraj, representing, that in the actual state of affairs, his presence and counsel were required at Seringapatam ; and the old man, probably finding that resistance or refusal would be ineffectual, at length consented to proceed, on the solemn assurance, that his own guards should accompany and remain with him ; and that no change should be made excepting in the place of his abode.

For the performance of these engagements, he exacted the most sacred obligation which a Mussulman can incur; and two of Hyder's confidential friends, Khakee Shah, and *Ghulib Mahommed Khan*\* were sent to confirm and guarantee the promises of Hyder by an oath on the Koran. On the arrival however of Nunjeraj at Seringapatam, his guards were seized: his jageer resumed; and he was thenceforth furnished as a state prisoner, with the mere necessities of life. The splendid cover on which this sacred oath had been confirmed, enveloped no more than a simple book of blank paper; and it was thus by a solemn mockery of the religion which they both professed, that Hyder and these religious casuists reconciled to themselves the double crime of a false oath, upon a false Koran.

All the essential conditions of the alliance between Hyder and Nizam Ali, were already mutually understood; and among other stipulations it was agreed, that Hyder, as the more experienced officer, should regulate and direct the united operations of the troops; but during the period of preparation, an interchange took place of the most pompous deputations of oriental ceremony; over the first, from Nizam Ali, presided his prime minister, with the Nabob of Kurnool, and the minister of finance; the composition of Hyder's deputation was intended to point without disguise to his own objects, and was perfectly successful in casting a mixture of obloquy, and irresistible ridicule, on the history of his opponents; it consisted, besides his eldest son and chief military officer, of *Maphoor Khan* and *Reza Ali Khan*, the rightful heirs, as far as any right existed, of the two rivals whom the English and French had respectively supported as the Nabobs of Arcot.

The arrangements for passive defence, to which Hyder had necessarily confined his views, on the

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\* The brother of Fuzzul Oolla Khan, or Hybut Jung.

hostile approach of the confederates, rendered some time necessary before he could collect and arrange the equipments for an active offensive campaign; and during this interval Nizam Ali, who had come forward to Cenapatam<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of these public demonstrations of alliance, moved again for the convenience of forage to the north-east. The officer commanding the English detachment was amused on one day with the assurance of being in full march to Hyderabad, and on the next with some silly reason for moving towards the opposite point of the compass: the sepoys, meanwhile, being without pay and destitute of credit, in an enemy's country, were nearly in a state of mutiny for want of food; and as hostilities against Hyder had actually commenced in another quarter, the difficulty of supplying them became a serious consideration. Captain Cosby detached by Colonel Smith, with five hundred men and a small supply of money, performed this delicate service with admirable address, having so skilfully evaded the corps detached to intercept him, as to return with the loss of one man only; after having performed a circuitous march, guided chiefly by the compass, of upwards of 350 miles in thirteen days, including two days occupied in delivering his charge and refreshing the troops.\*

At length however the English brigade with the army of Nizam Ali, was suffered to depart, leaving five companies as a guard of honour to this still equivocal friend. The chivalrous spirit which dictated this permission affords some relief to the mind,

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<sup>1</sup> *Cenapatam*.—Channapatna, a town 37 miles south-west of Bangalore, on the Bangalore-Seringapatam road.

\* The single man lost in this expedition, was one of the native troopers, by whom the money had been carried in their holsters; this man delivered the 800*l.* with which he was intrusted, and deserted the next day. That he did not desert with the money, was a point of honour not without parallel among these troops, and worthy of being recorded as an illustration of their character.

after the disgust of contemplating incessant fraud. As a feature of Mahomedan character it is an example not altogether singular of the mixture of pride and meanness which accompanies imperfect civilization and defective morals. A ray of seeming generosity broke through the gloom of habitual deception ; it was the affectation of courage that assumed the garb of probity ; and the mind which had abandoned truth, and the virtues which are her offspring, was yet sensible to the shame of being influenced by fear : such is the ground of distinction on which superficial reasoners have affected a preference for the virtues of uncivilized life ; and such was the sentiment which continued to influence Nizam Ali in giving safe conduct to the five companies three days preceding his actual commencement of hostilities.

During the period in which the confederated forces were approaching Mysoor from the north, the English from Madras had moved a respectable corps to the westward, for the purpose of endeavouring, by the possession of Baramahal to extend their frontier to the summit of the second range of hills ; while Hyder should be prevented by the armies of Poona and Hyderabad from disturbing their operations : and Nizam Ali continued, to the last moment, the deception of recommending a perseverance in these efforts, for the purpose of influencing his important negotiations with Hyder, which were to confer unknown benefits on his English allies. The total want of previous information, with regard to the country in which they were to operate, rendered these efforts entirely abortive : Veniambaddy,<sup>1</sup> Tripatore,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Veniambaddy*.—Vaniyambadi, a town in North Arcot District, 115 miles W.S.W. of Madras, on the Palar river. The town is a considerable centre of trade for Mohammedans. The town is situated on two islands formed by the bifurcation of the river.

<sup>2</sup> *Tripatore*.—Tirupattur, a town in the same district, 13 miles

Caveripatam,<sup>1</sup> and other mere village bulwarks, surrendered without opposition; but the places of real strength, erected on the summits of naked, lofty, and insulated mountains of granite, were provided with respectable garrisons: an attempt was made to carry one of these droogs,\* Kistnagherry, the reputed capital  
 June 3. of the district, by surprize, on the night of the 3d of June. The walled town at the foot of the rock having for some time been occupied without any serious opposition, a petard was prepared for forcing the gate of the upper fort; but the men who carried it, as well as the forlorn hope which preceded them, being all killed by showers of detached rocks precipitated from the summit, the party retired with the loss of nearly the whole grenadier company which led the enterprize; and on its failure the siege was converted into a blockade, which neutralized what little of plan had been preconcerted, by locking up the great body of the troops in this ineffectual operation. On the return of Colonel Smith from Bangalore, he was directed to assume the general command of the British troops on the frontier; Nizam Ali was already on the crest of the hills which overlook Baramahal, and Hyder in full equipment followed at the interval of

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west of Vaniyambadi. It is a healthy, flourishing place, the trade being divided between the Chettis and Lubbays.

<sup>1</sup> *Caveripatam*.—Kaveripatnam, a village on the Ponâr river, Salem District, about 7 miles from Krishnagiri, about 25 miles west of Tirupattur.

\* These fortresses, on granite rocks, have annexed to their names the general epithet of Droog or Durgum, implying that they are inaccessible. Xenophon, in the fourth chapter of the *Anabasis*, has an interesting description of the stratagem, by which the ten thousand Greeks carried a post so defended; the assailants found the cover of some clumps of trees on the ascent, from whence they made false demonstrations, until the defenders had expended their supply of stones, when the Greeks ascended without difficulty.

[*Droog*.—From (*dus*, Sans. prefix meaning difficult and *gam*, Sans., to go) a mountain fortress; (*doorgam*) suffix in name places. (*Madras Manual of Administration*.)]

two days' march. "Although," says Colonel Smith,\* "it was as plain as noon day to every person (except the council) that they were preparing to enter the Carnatic jointly, no measures were taken to establish magazines of provisions in proper places, nor any steps to supply our army in time of need," and even three days before the invasion, this officer was positively directed, to pass to the enemy a supply of provisions, of which his own troops were in the greatest want.

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\* Letter to Lord Clive.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

*Hyder and Nizam Ali descend the ghauts—operations—carry off the cattle of the army—Hyder takes Caveripatam—Smith moves to join Wood—followed by Hyder—Battle of Changama—Smith, although victorious, retires to Trinomalee—Allies recriminate—Smith in distress for food—Council of war declares the necessity for going into cantonment—prohibited by the government—Various manœuvres—Decisive victory of Trinomalee.*

THE errors which have been transmitted to later periods regarding the topography of these mountains lessen our surprise at finding Colonel Smith erecting a defensive work in the eastern gorge of one of the passes, and only discovering his mistake by the presence of the united armies which had descended in full force by much better roads considerably to the southward of his position, while he believed them to be hesitating on the possibility of forcing the pass, on which they had merely made a demonstration to draw his attention from their actual movement. The first act of hostility, on the 25th of August, was an actual surprise; the cattle of the army grazing with their accustomed confidence of security were driven off; the cavalry hastily moved out for their recovery, and found themselves unexpectedly assailed by very superior numbers, under Muckhdoom Ali, the brother-in-law of Hyder, who charged them into the very lines of the encampment, after destroying about one-third of their number, and carried off the greater part of the cattle, a misfortune which still farther crippled the already

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inefficient equipments of the English army,\* and prevented it from moving until the 28th, during Aug. which interval Hyder had besieged Caveripatam; and the imprudence of occupying such places, was evinced by its falling on the second day.<sup>1</sup>

A corps of British troops from Trichinopoly, under Colonel Wood,<sup>2</sup> had been ordered to join

\* Colonel Smith's letter estimates the several armies as follows:

		Cavalry.	Infantry.	Guns.
Nizam Ali	..	30,000	10,000	60
Hyder	..	<u>12,860</u>	<u>18,000</u>	<u>49</u>
Total	..	<u>42,860</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>109</u>

English.

		Cavalry.	Infantry.	Guns.
Europear	..	30	800	16
Native	..	..	5,000	
Mahommed Ali	..	<u>1,000</u>	<u>..</u>	<u>..</u>
Total	..	<u>1,030</u>	<u>5,800</u>	<u>16</u>

<sup>1</sup> Francis Robson, who was a Lieutenant under General Joseph Smith, estimates the forces at the time thus: "The Soubah's forces consisted of thirty thousand horse, ten thousand sepoy, peons, and a great number of rocket men, and sixty pieces of cannon, with an immense train of luttly wallas, or free booters. Hyder's army, of twelve thousand well-appointed black horse, eight hundred Mogul horse, and a troop of sixty European hussars, a battalion of one thousand topasses, five thousand grenadier sepoy, and eight thousand battalion sepoy, all armed with Europe muskets and bayonets, four thousand matchlock and rocket men, and forty-nine pieces of cannon: The English army, at this time, consisting of no more than two regiments of Europeans, which together only amounted to eight hundred men fit for duty; seven battalions of sepoy, about eight hundred men in each; the corps of artillery, and about five thousand of the Nabob's black horse, and a small troop of thirty European horse, commanded by myself, then a Lieutenant." (Francis Robson: *The Life of Hyder Ally*, 1786.)

<sup>2</sup> John Wood was commissioned ensign in the Company's Europeans in 1753. He held the rank of Captain five years later. He served as a Major at the second siege of Madura in 1764 under Colonel Charles Campbell. He eventually was tried by

Colonel Smith;<sup>1</sup> and the fortified Pagoda of Trinomalee,<sup>2</sup> to the eastward of the first range of hills, had been indicated as the point at which he would receive his farther orders : although Hyder was aware of the approach of this corps, and that it was still at the distance of ten days march at the least, he committed the apparent error of not placing himself

court-martial in 1769 on charges of misappropriation of stores and misconduct in the field, and though acquitted by the court, was dismissed the service by Government. He died in Madras in 1774.

<sup>1</sup> Woods' force consisted of—

European Infantry, 500.

Artillery, 40 and 8 Field pieces.

9 companies 7th battalion (6th Regiment, N. I.) Captain Cowper.

7 companies 11th battalion (reduced in 1769).

5 companies 10th battalion (9th Regiment, N. I.) Captain Dormond.

(Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 239.)

"The formation of the sepoy companies into battalions, which had been interrupted by the advance of the French, was resumed in 1759, and in September of that year the following arrangements and regulations recommended by a committee composed of Colonel Lawrence and Messrs. Bouchier and Pybus, were generally approved by Government."

Battalions were formed of nine companies each company of one hundred men and fifteen native officers. Two Subalterns, three Serjeant-Majors, and one native commandant were to have care of each battalion. Seven battalions were to be formed, afterwards by order of Government reduced to six.

In July 1761 the Government determined to limit the number of their native infantry to 6,300 men of all ranks and reduced the strength of each company from 115 to 100. At the same time they increased the number of battalions from six to seven. Another, eighth battalion had to be raised in August 1761.

In 1765 it was determined that there should be ten battalions of sepoys. The battles at Changama and Tiruvannamalai were the first general actions in which the Madras sepoys took part, after having been taught to manœuvre in battalions. (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Chaps. IV to VII.)

<sup>2</sup> *Trinomalee*.—Tiruvannamalai in the south of North Arcot District, Madras, about 30 miles east of the first town on the road from the Baramahal through the Changama pass, at

between Colonel Smith and the pass of Singarpetta,\* by which the junction must necessarily be formed. From assuming a strong position near Caveripatam, he seems to have expected that his adversary would be guilty of the rashness of attacking him before he had received his reinforcements; and the necessity of Colonel Smith's situation, from the causes which have been stated, prevented him from reaching Singarpetta before the 30th. In the preliminary communications of the allies, Hyder had been lavish of his eastern assurances, of cutting the English army to pieces wherever he should come up with it: a shyness so little corresponding to these boasts, might in part be ascribed to the distinction between promise and performance, so well understood among uncivilized nations; and also, in some degree, to the actual contact which had just been experienced at Caveripatam, where, previously to capitulation, three companies of English sepoys, under Captain M'Kain, had twice repelled the assault of the flower of his army: and a position which should place his rear on an impenetrable wood, with only one narrow road through it, was suited to troops not only confident but determined not to be forced. Nizam Ali indignant at the timid policy which seemed to have purposely allowed the enemy to secure his retreat, indirectly upbraided Hyder with the too delicate use of his powers of command; and intimated that if he chose to persevere in the plan, which in explana-

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Singarappet. Its fortified hill was always an important military point. The hill has three fortified peaks. Between 1753 and 1791 it was besieged on ten separate occasions and was six times taken; besieged unsuccessfully by Murteza Ali Khan in 1753, occupied by the French in 1757, recaptured by Krishna Rao in 1758, retaken by the French in the same year, taken by the British in 1760. Colonel Smith fell back to it in 1767. The last time it was taken was in 1791 by Tippu. It is the scene of a very large festival every year, at the Kartiga feast, in November and December.

\* Or Changama, see note, p. 463.

tion he proposed to recommend, of acting on the enemies' supplies, he (Nizam Ali) had in his own power a more summary mode of adjusting his differences with the English. Whether the omission of Hyder in suffering the unmolested movement of Colonel Smith had been of error or design, he now found himself under the necessity of yielding to the impatience of his ally, or risking the benefit of his co-operation. From that moment therefore he began to press upon the rear of the English army, in its movement to form a junction with Colonel Wood: the first march from Singarpetta was through a road of ordinary breadth, formed by felling the trees of a forest, considered as impenetrable in most places to ordinary travellers, and consequently favourable to a small body retiring in a single column; the surprise of the English troops was however excited, by the sudden appearance of bodies of predatory horse on the flanks, scrambling for booty among rocks and thickets, accessible with difficulty by regular infantry. On the two following tardy marches, nearly due east to Changama; as the country became more open and practicable, the English column of march was every where surrounded, and impeded by horse; and during the whole night the encampment was harrassed by flights of rockets.\*

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\* This Indian instrument receives its projectile force from the same composition which is used in the rockets of ordinary fire-works; the cylinder which contains it, is of iron; and sometimes gunpowder, at its extremity, causes it to explode when it has reached its object; a straight sword blade is also not unfrequently affixed to the rocket; an attached bamboo or reed steadies its flight; the rocket men are trained to give them an elevation proportioned to the varying dimensions of the cylinder, and the distance of the object to be struck: as those projected to any distance describe a parabola of considerable height, a single rocket is easily avoided, but when the flight is numerous, the attempt would be useless, and their momentum is always sufficient to destroy a man or a horse. Such was the ancient Indian instrument, so inferior to the Congreve rocket of modern European warfare.

The direction of the next march was about S. E. **Sept.** and at the distance of nearly four miles ; the road passes between impracticable ground on the left, and some of those lower hills, which form the undulating base of the great range of mountains. In approaching the pass which is thus formed, a fordable river, running to the eastward, crosses obliquely the line of the road ; Colonel Smith, desirous of moving beyond this pass without molestation, all that impeded his march, did not move at his accustomed hour ; but keeping his tents standing till near noon, then suddenly struck them, and dispatched his baggage in advance, under a respectable division of his army, formed in the following order : A battalion of sepoys, in column of companies, was followed by the Nabob's cavalry, receiving, not affording protection ; the baggage of the army succeeded, covered on each flank by a battalion of sepoys, moving in column of files : at a short interval, followed the remainder of the army, with its flank companies formed into a separate corps, as a rear guard : Hyder, however, had penetrated the enemy's design, and was already moving in a converging line from the west, to occupy a position to the south-west of the river, nearly parallel to its course on the left, and towards the right, inclining more to the eastward : one of the hills already noticed, near the right of this position, with a village at its foot, was the key of the pass ; and was already occupied by a select corps of the army of Nizam Ali, followed at a short interval by Hyder himself, with the flower of his troops. One of the corps of the English advance, commanded by Captain Cosby, was ordered to dislodge the enemy from the village, which he effected at the point of the bayonet ; and finding himself annoyed from the hill, proceeded with equal success to drive them from that position also, while the advance pursued its route and cleared the difficulties of the pass. From this hill Captain Cosby perceived the rapid approach

of Hyder's regular infantry, and reporting his observations to Major Bonjour, who commanded the advance, requested and obtained his permission to call up the leading corps of the main body, commanded by Captain Cowley, to occupy the hill, before he should quit it to join the advance; a judicious suggestion, which essentially contributed to the success of the day. The confederates were entering their position, but had not occupied it, when Colonel Smith, on approaching the river, and hearing the report of Captain Cosby, perceived the necessity of quickening his pace: he was marching by his left, in a single column of files, and pushed on without stopping to notice the enemy's fire, until the head of his column was nearly united to the corps on the hill, when by facing to the right, this portion of his little army, was at once formed in line opposite to the enemy. Hyder who perceived, when too late, the gross error which he had committed, in not occupying this important post in the first instance, and in force, with his best infantry, made several ineffectual efforts to dislodge the English sepoys from the hill; his loss in these charges in mass, is stated to have been enormous; and in one of them Ghālib Mahommed Khān\* was killed: foiled in these attempts, the confederates kept up an ill-directed fire of musquetry, from an extent of under-wood towards their left, from which their infantry made several efforts to break through the English line, and from fifty pieces of cannon against fourteen; an attack on the two last of the English field pieces which crossed the river, had long impeded the rear guard; but on its closing with the line, a disposition was made for a forward movement of the whole, which ended in completely routing the immense host of the confe-

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\* Colonel Smith erroneously calls him Hyder's brother-in-law. He estimates Hyder's loss in this action, in killed alone, at 2000 men, which is a very large calculation; his own loss was no more than 170 killed and wounded.

derates; the pursuit was continued until the day closed; two guns were abandoned by the enemy, and left spiked in the bed of the river, but the necessities of Colonel Smith's situation prevented him from carrying off his trophies. During the action, the enemy's horse had broken in on his baggage and captured his scanty store of rice; his dependance for a further supply was on Trinomalee, which it was necessary for him to reach without delay, from the farther apprehension that the enemy by another practicable road, might attempt to intercept his march in this desperate state of his supplies. The victory had thus been followed by the immediate necessity of a movement resembling flight; for with the exception of a short interval on the field of battle, and two hours halt after midnight, Colonel Smith continued his retreat throughout that night and the greater part of the ensuing day (the 4th of September), the troops having been upwards of twenty-seven hours without refreshment or repose, when they reached Trinomalee.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The native account of this action beyond the Changama pass (Miles' translation of *The History of Meer Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani*) differs from that given by Wilks. It is obviously untrustworthy. According to the native chronicler, Colonel Hewit (the native reading of Smith) arrived at the western side of the pass with 5,000 regular infantry and 1,000 Europeans at the same time that Hyder and the Nizam arrived at the pass. Colonel Smith occupied a small fort and when attacked retreated towards Tiruvannamalai, followed by the confederates, who however were unable to dislodge the English from the slopes of the hills where they had halted. The confederates were unable to plunder or destroy their enemy, but as the English suffered much from want of water, they continued their march westward to Tiruvannamalai. No mention is made of the death of Ghalib Mohammed Khan. Robson, (*The Life of Hyder Ally*, etc., 1786) who was a Lieutenant in Colonel Smith's army, describes the action thus: "Hyder, and the Soubah, came to the resolution of attacking them, (the English) which they accordingly did on the Second of September, near the fort of Changama. They made their appearance about noon, on which the English struck their tents and prepared for action, which commenced about two



The Nabob Mahommed Ali, had given the strongest assurances to the government of Madras, and they to Colonel Smith, that he should find at Trinomalee, an abundant depôt of provisions of every description, for all the troops of his own army, and of the different corps for which it had been appointed the rendezvous; and in this persuasion some military stores and equipments had been sent by the government of Madras to the same place. Colonel Smith on his arrival, found that there was *no rice*, and of paddy (viz. rice in the husk) which required time to prepare it for food, as much only in the town and neighbouring villages, as was sufficient to supply the most immediate necessities of his troops. Three days after Colonel Smith's arrival at Trinomalee, an event occurred unexampled in the history of English warfare in India, *the desertion of an officer*, Lieutenant Hitchcock: the army afterwards learned with delight that the traitor was suspected, and sent to prison, where he lingered in infamy, and died unpitied.<sup>1</sup>

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o'clock. The flower of Hyder's army sustained the heat of the battle in front, headed by himself; and the Soubah's attacked the English in their rear and flanks. This battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides till about eight o'clock in the evening, when the Soubah's army gave way, which occasioned Hyder to do so likewise, who lost in the action above 1000 of his best men. The Soubah also sustained a very heavy loss, although the exact number was never ascertained. The English were now masters of the field, but could not pursue the blow, owing to their want of ammunition, as they had not above two or three rounds left for some of their guns, and not more than ten or twelve rounds at the most for the others; which determined the General to move towards Trinomally that night . . . they arrived at Trinomally in the morning by day light, at which place they found a supply of ammunition and provisions." The distance from the scene of the action to Tiruvannamalai is about 20 miles.

<sup>1</sup> In a postscript to Colonel Smith's report on the battle, dated 13th September 1767, he wrote: "It is with great concern I inform the Honorable Board that Lieutenant Hitchcock deserted to the enemy on the 6th instant, an example, consider-

The allies, discouraged by the result of their first encounter; and each, as usual, ascribing to the other the blame of failure, employed that time in the discussion of the past, which ought to have been devoted to the care of the future, and Hyder again committed the fault of permitting Colonel Wood to join (on the 8th), without molestation. Although Sept. 8. Colonel Smith found Trinomalee, a place of no strength, he was compelled to risk his sick, wounded, and military stores in this critical situation, from the absolute necessity of moving to the villages to the eastward, in quest of food.<sup>1</sup> On his departure, the allies still occupied in discussion, neglected to attack Trinomalee, until the 14th, when Colonel Smith having collected a scanty supply of provisions, returned for its protection, in time to see the enemy draw off the cannon, which they had been in the act of placing in battery against it: a corps of 10,000 horse, which had been advanced to cover this operation, was driven in with some loss, and the battering guns accompanied by the whole allied army, hurried off to the north-west, and encamped late in the evening, at only six miles distance from the English position.

Colonel Smith being now joined by most of his detachments, determined to attack the confederates on the ensuing morning, and moved at day light for that purpose: but, on approaching their position, he

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ing all circumstances, unexampled, and he is held with detestation and horror by all the officers of the army. Hyder Ally I hear has committed this traitor to prison."

<sup>1</sup> The following extract from a letter from the Paymaster to the army to the Secretary to Government, written in Camp, dated 21st of September, shows that the European officers were badly off:—

"Every gentleman in camp is greatly distressed for both cloaths and victuals. As for myself, I have hardly shirt, or waistcoat to put on, and I believe there has not been such a thing as a bit of biscuit, or drop of wine at any person's table in camp for this some days past, not even Colonel Smith's" (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 243.)

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found them in complete security from the interposition of an impassable morass. In this short interval, his supply of provisions was again expended; and he was again compelled to move to the eastward, for food on the 16th.

In this wretched state, the frequent torrents which among these hills, precede the north-east monsoon, having already commenced, a corps of regular infantry, destitute of every equipment of supply, that constitutes an efficient army, moving through a country ravaged and exhausted by forty thousand horse, was left to prowl for food, within a limited circle, from which it could not depart without abandoning its hospital and stores. Under these circumstances a council of war was unanimous in the expediency of evacuating Trinomalee, and endeavouring to place the wounded and the stores in Chittapet,<sup>1</sup> a place of some strength, garrisoned by the Nabob Mahommed Ali, distant about two marches to the north-east, and that the troops should then move into cantonment, at Arcot, Vellore, or any other place where they could obtain food.

Although the errors of the government, and in the front of these the cardinal vice of leaving the very existence of the troops to depend on the performance of the promises of *a nabob*, had reduced the army to its present critical situation, they saw and deprecated the consequences of placing it in cantonment, while the cavalry of the confederates had overspread the country up to the very gates of Madras,<sup>2</sup> and their whole army was consuming or

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<sup>1</sup> *Chittapet*.—Settupattu, Polur Taluq, North Arcot District, Madras. The fort is now in ruins, but was next to Gingi the most important fort in the Carnatic, held by the Mahrattas till 1690, when it was occupied by Delhi troops. After the accession of the Carnatic Nawab, it was entrusted to a Killedar, appointed by the Subadar of the Deekan. In 1757 it was taken by the French, and in 1760 taken by Coote.

<sup>2</sup> "This morning, Parties of the Enemy's Horse were Scampering about the Company's Garden House, Mr. James

destroying its resources. Colonel Smith continued accordingly to manœuvre in the neighbourhood of Trinomalee, under all the disadvantages which have been described. The confederates after the last action, had agreed on the propriety of sending light detachments of irregulars to ravage the country in every direction, and to reserve their best horse for the purpose of distressing the English army, and uniting in the attack, which they determined to make, when it should be reduced by famine and fatigue to the expected extremity of retiring from the frontier in the direction of Arcot. Rumours which appeared to be authentic, had conveyed to them tolerably distinct accounts of the deliberations which had been held, regarding the necessity of moving into cartonment: they believed that Colonel Smith was postponing this measure, under the pressure of urgent distress, in the hope that the approach of the north-east monsoon should first induce *them* to move into the upper countries; and they resolved to protract their departure to the last, in the confidence that they should find the English army progressively

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Bourchier's Garden, and Chindadre Pettah, on which the Picket from Hog's Hill crossed the River and marched towards the Garden House, on whose Approach the Enemy retired from them, but continued about St. Thomé and in the Neighbourhood till the Evening, when they marched towards the Mount." (*Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. XXVII, 28th September 1767.)

"Old Kistnia hinted to you several times that after your government this poor country and the inhabitants would not be so happy and quiet as during your time. Just it has happened accordingly, every body wishing for your goodness and care, that lived in peace with all the Powers of the country; whereas lately a small body of the enemy's horse rode up to the Governor's Garden House, burning and destroying all that came in the way. Numbers of poor innocent people, from St. Thomé, the Mount, Conjevaram and other places were killed, wounded and carried into captivity without one soul going to their defence." Letter of Mooperala Kistnia and Rama Kistna to Robert Palk, dated 1767, November 4th. Fort St. George, (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 57.)

enfeebled and disheartened by the long continuance of these severe privations, and every day less capable of resisting their ultimate attack. In his excursions to the eastward, however, Colonel Smith had by judicious combinations received some reinforcements of troops, small convoys of provisions and stores, and above all, had been enabled to relieve his most serious wants by the discovery of large hidden stores, which the inhabitants are accustomed to keep sometimes for many years in subterraneous excavations, as well for security against hostile invasion, as because experience has shewn this mode to be the most effectual for the preservation of the grain : and troops which the confederates supposed to be in the lowest stage of wretchedness and want, had, for the last fortnight been daily improving in physical strength and efficiency. The confederates, apprehensive that the supposed wretchedness of their enemy might produce efforts of desperation, had assumed a strong position, which they fortified with regular redoubts; covering not only the front and flanks of their encampment, but commanding every avenue by which their retreat could be interrupted ; and steadily declined all the opportunities which Colonel Smith presented to them of attacking him in the plain. At length, however, these wearisome expectations began to relax in confidence, and Nizam Ali, who had left his capital to share in a campaign of unresisted plunder, and had been led into the present operations by the assurance of easy conquest; perceived nothing but disappointment in the successive plans which were to destroy his opponents in this distant service; and had intelligence of sources of danger nearer home, to which we shall presently advert. He therefore insisted on the necessity of bringing the contest to the issue of a general action ; and while he was concerting with Hyder the best mode of effecting this object, Colonel Smith, who had by great efforts collected the means of making a move-

ment on a more extended line, was occupied in devising the means of drawing the confederates into the plain; and had encamped as near as circumstances would admit to the front of their main position, with a force of 10,430\* effective men, besides 1500 bad horse.

About noon on the 26th of September, the confederates moved a column, accompanied by sixteen of their heaviest cannon, to a position in front of Colonel Smith's left, from whence they commenced a distant cannonade. A morass intervened, difficult but not impassable, and not perceptible without a close examination. It was Hyder's plan to entangle his opponent in this difficulty, in which he would necessarily sustain considerable loss. If he should pass the impediment without discomfiture, a line of redoubts was still in his front, and the main strength of the confederated army was disposed in a situation to fall in force on his right, in the moment of his advancing within range of the redoubts. Colonel Smith made a movement on his left, which shewed that he was ignorant of the existence of the morass, but which also enabled him to ascertain the exact nature of the impediment. Commencing at an unknown distance on the left, it extended beyond his right to the foot of a hill, which concealed the great body of the confederates from his view; but he concluded that this hill must form the termination of the morass; and that by making a circuit to his right, he might be enabled to turn or come in contact with the left of the confederates. His own left was

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* European infantry	..	..	1,400
Native	..	..	9,000
European cavalry	..	..	30
Native	..	..	1,500
Field pieces	..	..	34

[The native cavalry were furnished by Mohamed Ali, and were inferior. The Madras Government at this time had no native cavalry of its own.]

therefore withdrawn from the forward manœuvre which had been attempted, and he moved off from his right in execution of the plan which has been stated. The first direction of his column of march pointed to the north-east. The confederates who had not dismissed the persuasion that the English army was in a state of absolute want, perceived in this movement nothing less than their final retreat towards Arcos, after being foiled in a last impotent effort : they accordingly put their troops into instant motion, for the purpose of crossing the direction of the English column, pressing on its flanks, and rear, and rendering its retreat impracticable. The confederates were thus marching round the hill from the south-west, and the English from the south-east, the movement of each being thus concealed from the view of the other; and to their reciprocal surprise their advanced corps were nearly in contact on rounding the northern extremity of the hill. The advantages of discipline every where conspicuous, are most prominent in unexpected occurrences : the confederates made a hurried movement to occupy the hill, but an English corps, commanded by Captain Cooke, anticipated the design, repulsed them from its summit, and secured a support for the left in the first formation of the line. Some rocks on the plain, formed a point of considerable strength for the support of the future movements, but before it could be fully occupied by a large body of the best infantry of the confederates, three English battalions, commanded by Captains Cosby, Cooke, and Baillie, were contending with these superior numbers for its possession, and dislodged them after an obstinate resistance. This point became the subsequent support of Colonel Smith's left, and his line was quickly made to extend opposite to the great mass of the enemy, who, during this movement, completed their formation on a commanding eminence, and placed some guns in position, which annoyed the English army while

deploying into line. A powerful body of infantry was drawn up in the rear and on the flanks of the confederate artillery; enormous masses of cavalry, formed a huge crescent, enveloping the British troops, and apparently ready to overwhelm them, on a concerted signal. But Hyder's plan had been disconcerted; of upwards of 100 pieces of cannon no more than 30 could be brought into action, the remainder were in the redoubts, or had not joined from the positions allotted to them in the original plan. The English artillery amounted to 31 light pieces, (three having been left for the protection of the baggage) steadily and skilfully served: the line cautiously advanced from one strong position to another, and after nearly silencing the artillery of the enemy, the English cannon directed their fire against the thickest masses of cavalry, in whose presence a decisive forward movement would have been imprudent; a few minutes of torpid and motionless astonishment seemed to indicate a reluctance to retreat, and an expectation of orders to charge; but the consternation had pervaded the chiefs as well as the soldiers; and the havoc produced by the active and correct fire of the English artillery quickly covered the field with a disorderly rabble of cavalry flying in every direction; the infantry and guns continuing to maintain their ground. The English line now began to move on at a steady pace, preceded by the cannon, which fired in advancing. Hyder who, from the first moment of Colonel Smith's dispositions after rounding the hill, perceived that the battle was lost, drew off his own cannon within the line of the redoubts, and rode towards Nizam Ali to entreat that he would give similar orders, and cover the operation by the movements of his cavalry: but that chief was indignant at what he deemed so spiritless a proposal, and declared his determination to maintain his position to the last. When, however, the British army began its advance in line, Hyder



renewed his remonstrances, and the guns were ordered to commence their retreat, covered by Hyder's infantry, which made a regular and respectable demonstration until the near approach of the English line, when they retreated in tolerable order within the protection of the works. It was the absurd, but invariable practice of Nizam Ali to be accompanied in the field by his favourite wives, with all the splendid appendages of rank. He was on horseback when Hyder approached ; and his line of elephants carrying the women, was at no great distance in the rear : when he had determined on the retreat of the guns, he desired that the elephants should instantly turn. " This elephant," replied a female voice from the covered vehicle, " has not been instructed so to turn ; he follows the standard of the empire." The loss of several elephants was the consequence of this demur, for the chivalrous damsel would not allow her's to move ; until the standard had passed her in its retreat, and the English shot fell thick among those that followed in her train. A considerable body of cavalry rallied by the mere force of shame, approached to charge the right of the English during their advance ; but the troops which had been detached to the left in the early part of the day were now moving in column for the protection of this flank, and foiled the feeble attempts of this disheartened body. Night closed upon the English army as they reached the last ground which had been abandoned by the enemy, within a mile of the redoubts : only nine guns for the present fell into their possession, and they lay upon their arms in expectation of farther events.

The confederates had sustained a considerable loss, but it is obvious that nothing had hitherto occurred which could be a motive, with troops accustomed to the events of war, for abandoning a fortified position, no part of which had been carried, and which was still as tenable as before the action:

but Nizam Ali, who, an hour before, had answered the remonstrances of Hyder, with a declaration that he would prefer a death like that of Nasir Jung to a dishonourable flight, was now at full speed, with a select body of his cavalry, in a western direction; and did not stop till he was fairly through the pass of Singarpetta; leaving to the minister and commander-in-chief, Ruccun-ud-Dowla, the care of directing the immediate retreat of his other troops. Hyder, finding himself thus abandoned, began to provide, in the best manner, for the security of his own army; and from his better knowledge of the requisite arrangements, and the superior equipments of his ordnance, had put his field train into full march on the only road, before that of his ally was in readiness to follow: his infantry occupied the redoubts, and the whole night was employed in getting the artillery and baggage into motion, and clearing the fortified position.

Colonel Smith, who perceived in the confusion of the enemy's camp the opportunity of striking an important blow, made a disposition, after his men had taken a slight refreshment, for an attack about midnight, to be led by the grenadiers of the army, under Major Fitzgerald, and supported according to events by the remainder of the troops. Whatever military errors may be imputed to Hyder, the conduct of his department of intelligence was unrivalled. One of his most faithful spies was the guide in English pay, who led Major Fitzgerald, and conducted him to a swamp which he had described as difficult, and which was found to be impassable. After much time had been lost in reiterated attempts to sound it in various directions, the guide proposed a circuitous route, which seemed objectionable on many accounts, besides the lateness of the hour, and after some farther fruitless efforts, the Major reluctantly returned to camp. At daylight, the army was in motion, and soon passed the redoubts, which were

entirely abandoned ; but on ascending an eminence, the road as far as the eye could reach, was seen covered with the confederate army ; and a train of artillery was distinctly visible, which it still seemed practicable to overtake : the English army quickened its pace, at this cheering intelligence, and in the course of the day captured forty-one pieces of heavy artillery, all belonging to Nizam Ali ; fourteen more being discovered afterwards, which had been overset, for concealment, in the woods. Hyder, in person, rather observed than covered the rear, attended by his retinue of state, a troop of European cavalry, and 3000 select horse ; but as he could not quicken the pace of Nizam Ali's inefficient equipments, and seldom ventured to unlimber a gun, from the apprehension of greater delays, he was compelled to abandon one after another, to the English infantry, with little material resistance. But the English officers had frequent opportunities of noticing his personal exertions, and observing the splendor of his retinue, which seemed to be purposely exhibited for their admiration. It consisted of 300 select men on foot, clothed in scarlet, and armed with lances, or pikes, of light bamboo, about eighteen feet long, twisted round from bottom to top with thin plates of silver in a spiral form : the equal intervals of polished silver, and the dark brown of the seasoned bamboo, give a splendid and not inelegant appearance to this ornamental but formidable weapon.

Excessive fatigue terminated the operations of the day, and Colonel Smith was under the positive necessity of relinquishing the more decisive results to be expected from a second day's pursuit, and of retracing his steps, to procure food. The loss of the English army in this achievement amounted to no more than 150 men killed and wounded ; that of the confederates probably exceeded 4,000, with 64 guns, chiefly 18<sup>th</sup> and 16 pounders, with their tumbrils, and a large quantity of stores of every description,

excepting rice, a small supply of which at this moment would have exceeded in value all the trophies\* of the day.

Tippoo Sultaun, then seventeen, in the exercise of a first nominal command, under the guidance of Ghazee Khân, his military preceptor, and the best partisan officer in Hyder's service, was plundering the very country houses of the council of Madras, when he heard the result of the battle of Trinomalee. He retired with precipitation to join his father; his example being followed by all the other light detachments, in exact opposition to the conduct which true military policy would have instructed them to pursue.—Colonel Smith, finding the country cleared of its invaders, no longer delayed covering his troops against the approaching monsoon, and proceeded himself to Madras, with the hope of effecting some new arrangement of the departments of supply, which were as inefficient as such departments must for ever be, when kept as much as possible beyond the control of the commander in chief.

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\* The Frenchman calling himself commander of artillery, and general of ten thousand in the army of the Mogul, who has published the history of *Ayder Ali Khan*, and was present in this service, states the single trophy of the English to have been *one iron three pounder*; this is a specimen of what he may be presumed to have seen. What he relates, on the authority of others, resembles the information of a dramatic quidnunc, who hears every thing, and seizes the wrong end of all that he hears.

[The Frenchman wrote as M. M. Z. D. T. General of ten thousand men in the army of the Mogul Empire, and formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Artillery of Hyder Ally, and a Body of Europeans, in the service of that Nabob, 1784. Criticisms of his work will be found in *The Life of Hyder Ally* by Francis Robson. 1786.]

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## CHAPTER XV.

*Mutual crimination and reconciliation of the Allies—Smith goes into cantonments—Hyder takes the field in consequence—re-takes Tripatore and Vaniambaddy—besieges Amboor—Excellent defence of Captain Calvert—Singular incident ascribed to supernatural agency—Relieved by Colonel Smith—who pursues Hyder—Affair of Vaniambaddy—Junction with Colonel Wood—Hyder occupies a fortified position at Caveripatam—Mâphuz Khân—close of his political career—Hyder's attack of the convoy under Major Fitzgerald—Personal efforts and disappointment—Attack of Nizam Ali's dominions, by troops from Bengal—detaches him from his alliance with Hyder—Treaty of 1768, between the English and Nizam Ali—discussed and condemned—Hyder, at the same time, moves his whole force to the western coast to oppose a diversion from Bombay, which takes Mangalore, Honâver, &c. with the fleet—Hyder's plan of operation—Easy re-capture of the English conquests—Punishment of the inhabitants who aided the English—Deceitful compromise with the chiefs of Malabar—Returns to the eastward.*

THE result of the battle of Trinomalee, produced a considerable change in the views of the confederates. Nizam Ali, full of open indignation at the conduct of Hyder, and feeling little of secret complacency at his own, assembled his army at Calaimuttoor,<sup>1</sup> in Baramahal, and Hyder established

<sup>1</sup> This place has not been identified. There is a Mattur in the Baramahal, 14 miles south-west of Tirupattur on the trunk

his head quarters at the same place; where they remained for near a month, without action, or determination, or interview. Each, however, had so much of real blame to impute to the other, that it was at length agreed to waive all discussion of past events, and endeavour to concert more successful operations. Ostentatious visits of ceremony were to announce their confidence in the future, and at one of these, Hyder placed his guest on a *seat* or *musnud*, composed of bags of coined silver, amounting to a lac of rupees, covered with cushions of embroidered silver; all of which the attendants were desired to carry away, with the other presents, according to the established etiquette in similar cases.

Hyder knew that Colonel Smith, reckoning on the inaction of his enemies, during the three rainy months of October, November, and December, had disposed his army in cantonments, extremely objectionable, from their distance from each other, namely, at Conjeveram,<sup>1</sup> Wandewash, and Trichinopoly; and he calculated on having time for objects of importance, before a sufficient force could be assembled to interrupt his operations.

The first of these, was the recapture of Tripatore, and Vaniambaddy, two of the indefensible places which remained in possession of the English, in the northern part of Bâramahal, and these fell, without material resistance, on the 5th and 7th of November; from thence, Hyder proceeded to the siege of Amboor,<sup>2</sup> Nov. 5 & 7.

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road, and another known as Irumattur, one march farther south: possibly the latter is the place intended. It is known that Hyder in one of his marches crossed the river at Kammenellur, which is only 4 miles from Irumattur; but Mattur would be more easily reached from Singarapetta, and as a position to block an advance to Krishnagiri or Kaveripatnam would be preferable to Irumattur. (*Le Fanu: Manual of the Salem District*, 1883.)

<sup>1</sup> Conjeveram is about 25 miles north of Wandiwash, and Trichinopoly about 135 miles south of Wandiwash.

<sup>2</sup> Amboor.—Ambur, about 80 miles W.S.W. of Vellore, on

a place of considerable strength, situated on the summit of a mountain of smooth granite, accessible on only one face, terminating the valley of Bāramahāl, on the north, and overlooking the fertile vale, which, forming a right angle with Bāramahāl, extends to the eastward, down to Vellore and Arcot. He arrived Nov. 10. before the place, on the 10th of November, and on 15. the 15th, had so completely dismantled the lower fort, that Captain Calvert, who commanded, deemed it no longer tenable, and retired to the summit of the hill, with a garrison of five hundred sepoys, one officer, one serjeant, and fifteen Europeans.

The Kelledaree,<sup>1</sup> or Government of Amboor, with a\* jageer for the maintenance of the garrison, had been conferred by Anwar-u-Deen on an officer named Muckhlis Khân, who from the revolutions of fortune which he had witnessed, seemed to have conceived that possession was among the most valid arguments of right; and in the commencement of the operations against Bāramahāl, when it was deemed expedient to occupy this post in a regular manner as a depôt, the Kelledar, although professing unlimited deference to any order addressed to himself, refused admission to any troops but his own, and stratagem had been employed gradually to introduce a sufficient number of faithful sepoys, and, successively, of officers, to exact obedience in another form. Captain Calvert, a brave and rough officer, who had been wounded in the battle of Trinomalee, was sent to assume the command of Amboor, and discovering, at the critical moment of retiring to his citadel, that Muckhlis

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the south bank at the Palar river. It lies at the foot of the Kadapanatam pass to the north, leading up into Mysore. The fort stood on an almost inaccessible rock. In all the wars with Mysore, it was a place of considerable military importance.

<sup>1</sup> "Killadar," from Arab. *Kala* a fort: the commandant of a fort, castle or garrison. The Arab. *Kala* is always in India pronounced *Kila*. (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 483.)

\* The grant revocable at pleasure, of the revenues of a district for a specified purpose.

Khân was in correspondence with Hyder, for the surrender of the place, he imprisoned him and his chief officers on the summit of the rock, and disarming his garrison, compelled them to work in the labours of the siege. Hyder, in determining on the attack of Amboor, had certainly rested his chief hopes of success on the aid of Muckhlis Khân; the operations which he adopted were calculated to destroy or enfilade every portion of the defences; but a practicable breach was effected in a part of the works which was inaccessible; and the whole plan seemed to be suited rather to afford an opportunity to the disaffected within, and to wear out the garrison with incessant alarms, than ultimately to carry it by open force. After a variety of attempts to discover the means of entering by surprize, Hyder tried the effect of other means. An introductory flag of truce, for the purpose of summoning the garrison, conveyed an eulogium on its brave defence, to which Captain Calvert replied, that Hyder had not yet afforded him an opportunity of deserving the compliment. A second, made the direct offer of a large bribe, and the command of half his army, with magnificent appointments. In answer to this proposal, Hyder was admonished to spare the lives of his servants, as the next bearer of such a message would be hanged on the breach: after a steady and meritorious defence of twenty-six days, Captain Calvert was relieved, on the 6th of December, by Dec. 6. the approach of the English army<sup>1</sup>: and the govern-

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<sup>1</sup> Robson (*Life of Hyder Ally*, 1786) describes what happened thus: "Hyder, after putting a sufficient number of troops in these forts, (Tripatur and Vaniambadi) proceeded farther down the Valley, and invested Amboor, a considerable fortification on a rock, the town (or pettah) situated below, and environed with a mud wall; Hyder soon raised batteries against the pettah, when the English officer commanding, seeing the impossibility of defending it, very prudently retired with his men to the upper fort, and immediately sent off an express to the Governor of Madras. On this the English army were ordered to assemble



ment marked their approbation of the conduct of the corps which composed the garrison, by directing the rock of Amboor to be borne on it's colours; an honorary distinction still preserved by the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment.<sup>1</sup>

Among the losses which Hyder most lamented in the course of the siege was that of *Khakee Shah*, his relation, and most confidential friend, who was killed by his side in an early part of the service. It will be recollected, that *Khakee Shah* had been one of the emissaries of Hyder to Nunjuraj, and *Ghalib Mahommed Khan*, his associate in that infamous transaction, had also, in the course of the campaign, been killed in the battle of Changaina; both, however, as the Mahommedans of the south continue to believe, were destroyed by the visible wrath of heaven, within the same year in which they had profaned the

again in the greatest hurry at Vellore, (except that part which had gone to the Southward to Tritchenopoly). When the English were assembled at Vellore, and collected all the bullocks they possibly could procure, to carry rice, and other provisions; also some draught bullocks for the artillery, which they stood in extreme need of, they marched to the relief of Amboor. On their approach Hyder raised the siege, and moved up the valley again."

<sup>1</sup> This was the first honorary distinction granted to the Madras Army. The Resolution ran thus:—

"The brave and gallant defence of the Fort of Amboor affords us the highest satisfaction, and it is agreed that our thanks be given to Captain Calvert, and that he be desired to acquaint Ensign Barton, the Commandant Moideen Saib, and the Sepoys, as well as the Serjeant whom he mentions to have behaved well, with the sense we have of their services, and as we think the giving this battalion which has behaved so remarkably well, some distinguishing mark, will cause emulation in others, it is agreed that it hereafter be called the 'Amboor Battalion' and that it do carry colours suitable to the occasion."

A badge representing a Rock Fort with the word "Amboor" was borne for many years, but the Regiment having been granted the device of "The Elephant" for the battle at Assaye, it carried the Rock Fort on "The Elephant." It was the old 10th Madras Infantry. (Wilson: *History, of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 251.)

holy Korân by a fraud and a perjury,\* and this belief is not shaken by the impunity of the author of the crime; nor by the arrogance of thus gratuitously pronouncing on the ways of heaven, and placing man upon the judgement-seat of God.

The history of one of these persons presents some features highly illustrative of national manners. Khâkee Shâh was considered the wittiest man of Hyder's court, and was more familiarly admitted than any other to the intimacy of his looser hours. Hyder delighted in the practical jest, in these days denominated a *hoax*; Khâkee Shâh's near alliance to many of the inhabitants of the Harem, gave him the liberty of communications by message; and in the intercourse of unreserved raillery, he had occasionally ventured on messages in Hyder's name, which had produced some mischievous disappointments in the Harem, and were afterwards the subject of broad mirth between the friends. On the occasion of some reciprocal raillery, regarding their domestic arrangements, Hyder adopted the coarse and cruel trial, of causing a letter to be written to the wife of Khâkee Shâh, then at Sera, announcing the sudden death of her husband. The lady who was passionately attached to him, swallowed poison in her first despair; and the husband, on receiving the intelligence, made a vow to renounce the world. It was, on this occasion, that he assumed the name of Khâkee Shâh. *Shâh* or *king* is the spiritual designation assumed by this description of Mahommedan saints, and *Khâkee Shâh*, may be rendered *king of the dust*, intimating, as it should seem, spiritual sovereignty, and temporal humility. This unhappy event, although it interrupted, did not dissolve the intimacy of the parties: after a short interval Khâkee Shâh resumed with Hyder his usual habits, and was reciprocally treated with increased confidence and regard. The manner

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\* See on this subject, p. 318.

of his death afforded some colour to the belief of extraordinary interposition. Hyder and he, after examining the works of Amboor, alighted among some scattered rocks, and seated themselves behind one which completely covered them from the direct fire of the fort; and in this situation Khakee Shah was cut in two by a cannon shot, close to the side of Hyder, who was unhurt. That the shot must have reverberated from the other rocks, is admitted; but although the library of Seringapatam contained some copies of mathematical works, there does not seem to have been in the whole court (probably the most unscientific in all India), a sufficient degree of elementary knowledge, to comprehend a simple occurrence, which a billiard table, if they had possessed one, would have illustrated without the necessity of referring to supernatural agency.

A friend of mine in a situation nearly similar, had occasion to watch the numerous revolutions of a cannon shot, every time striking the rock near to himself in the same spot, until its force was expended, and it rolled harmless into a hollow, in the centre of the rocks from which it had reverberated.

The forces of Colonel Smith had scarcely been established in cantonment, before it became necessary, from these movements of Hyder, to make arrangements for re-assembling them; but nothing could be effected towards promoting the efficiency of the departments of the army. The silly ambition of Mahommed Ali to be the object of all expectations, and to be considered as every thing while capable of nothing useful; the poisonous influence which procured, not confidence, for that was impossible, but the semblance of confidence, in the performance of his promises, contrary to the universal experience of his whole conduct, prevented the formation of a plain, practical, independent system of supply; and there is reason to infer, that a secret jealousy of the

commander-in-chief tended still farther to disperse the efforts which ought to have been concentrated.

The division of Colonel Wood, which had been cantoned at Trichinopoly, was ordered to move to Trinomalee ; and from thence, as might be concerted, to enter Baramahâl by the pass of Singarpetta : the remainder of the army, under Colonel Smith, assembled at Vellore ; and being under some uneasiness for the fate of Amboor, he hastened to its relief, and had the satisfaction of perceiving the British colours still flying on the morning of the 7th of December. Dec. 7. After making the requisite arrangements in the course of that day, Colonel Smith moved in pursuit of Hyder, whom he found on the morning of the 8th, 8. after a short march, at Vaniambaddy, with his right covered by the fort, and his front and left by some bad redoubts lately constructed, and by a fordable river. Nizam Ali had moved farther south into Baramahâl, and Hyder's position, although by no means judiciously chosen, seemed to Colonel Smith to indicate a determination to risk a battle ; but his real intention was no other than to gain time by this demonstration for the retreat of Nizam Ali ; and for the uninterrupted movement of his own heavy artillery, which had been sent off on the first appearance of the English army ; the degree of resistance was proportioned to this intention ; Vaniambaddy was abandoned, but he had the mortification, during this affair, to see his European troop of horse under Monsieur Aumont, move off in a body and join the English army, in consequence of a concerted arrangement, of which he had no previous suspicion ; in other respects the loss on either side was unimportant. To overtake the superior equipments of Hyder, although attempted, was a visionary pursuit ; and on the succeeding day, the miserable commissariat of the British army compelled it to halt to receive provisions from Amboor.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Tod, with the advance,

<sup>1</sup> Robson's account of the events at Vaniambadi is as follows:

followed the enemy as far as Tripatore, which he also found abandoned ; but, contrary to Hyder's usual precaution, containing a supply of grain and some cattle. The confederated armies retired towards Caveripatam, and Colonel Smith was again reinforced by Colonel Wood, without an attempt on the part of the enemy to interrupt the junction. On Hyder's capture of Caveripatam, in 1767, he had thrown up some field works to strengthen the position under its cover, which Colonel Smith had then declined to attack ; and, on finding that he should be obliged to raise the siege of Amboor, he had sent one of his French officers, to extend and improve the same camp, as a safe position for the confederate armies. Immediately after the junction of Colonel Wood, Colonel Smith approached to examine it. A river passed the northern face of the town and petta of Caveripatam : this face had been strengthened by a good covered way, and by two large detached redoubts, which enfladed the north, the east, and the west faces : five similar redoubts completing the circuit to the south, covered the whole position : and two more distant rocky mounds to the south and south-east were crowned with redoubts which commanded the most accessible approach : good lines of retreat, in the event of discomfiture,

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“ On the 8th of December, the English army made their appearance before Vaniambady, where they found Hyder already posted, his right wing being covered by the fort and pettah, with the river in their front ; their left was also secured by some impassable ground, so that the General was obliged to attack him in front ; which was accordingly done, *vis.*, some guns were immediately drawn up on the high banks of the river, which was almost dry ; from them they kept up a severe fire, under cover of which, some of the army began to cross the river, when Hyder's troop of European horse appeared on the sands, in the bed of the river, who moved round towards the left of the English, whom they joined, agreeable to a plan before concerted by the Chevalier Saint L-b-n, who was to have performed wonders, and would have made the English believe, that it was in his power to have brought off the major part of the Europeans, then in Hyder's service, but his schemes proved abortive.”

were provided, by crossing the river towards Kistna-gherry, or moving along its right bank to Ryacota.<sup>1</sup> On the first glance of this much improved\* position, Colonel Smith determined to decline the risk of an attack ; and the measures of the enemy relieved him soon afterwards from the necessity of so desperate an attempt. Sources of separate but serious alarm, which we shall endeavour to relate in the most convenient order, distracted the attention of both the confederates. Hyder sent off his heavy guns and baggage to the westward on the 14th, accompanied by his son Dec.14. Tippoo and Ghazee Khan, with a light corps ; and on the 18th Nizam Ali, with the main body of his 18. army, re-ascended the ghauts, and moved to the northward : a light field train, with nearly the whole efficient force of his army, remained with Hyder ; and political considerations still detained with him a corps of some thousand horse, in the service of Nizam Ali, as an escort to the brother of his prime minister.

A more convenient opportunity may not again

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<sup>1</sup> A description of the scenery between Rayakota and Krishnagiri by Mr. Le Fanu, the compiler of *the Salem District Manual* is worth quoting. The "winding ghat, which is perhaps only second in point of beauty of all the natural beauties of the Salem District. Commencing about half a mile east of Rayakota, it winds through the verdure clad hills which abound here ; sometimes descending over steep declivities, and again wandering through grassy glades at the bottom of valleys, which echo to the song of birds and abound with all the wealth of tropical growth, while over all the bare peaks, with the *durgam* as their king, tower in rich shades of grey, brown and even crimson, due to the weathering of the mother rock. Shorter than the road is the track used by foot travellers and known as the Purathi ghat, which penetrates the thick jungles where the banditti of the country love to lurk : here the footstep startles the hare from its form, and the jungle cock runs clattering to his mates in the bamboo undergrowth, while herds of deer cross the path, and halt to gaze in mute surprise at the trespassers on their favourite haunts." (Le Fanu : *Manual of the Salem District*. Vol. II, p. 251.)

\* Described from a plan in the author's possession, drawn apparently by Colonel Call, in 1767.

occur, of closing our narrative of the destiny of a person, whose pretensions entitled him to occupy a larger space than he has filled in the history of these times. Maphuz Khan, on the descent of the confederates into the lower country, had the part assigned to him of employing his influence among the Poligars of the South to excite a general insurrection ; and aided by the resources of Dindigul to wrest the whole of these provinces from Mahommed Ali and the English. The formation of the army had drawn all their disposable troops from those countries, and Maphuz Khan, with a slender escort, was moving from the residence of one chief to another, in furtherance of his views; when Colonel Buck, who commanded at Madura, sent out a detachment by night, which surprized and conveyed him to that fortress as a prisoner, on the 2d of October, 1767. He was given up to Mahommed Ali, and closely confined during the war: but it must be added, to the credit of that nabob, (of whom truth has permitted us to narrate little that is good,) that he afterwards liberated his brother, and provided him for the remainder of his life, with a decent maintenance at Madras.

While the heavy equipments of Hyder were moving to a far distant object, it was necessary that his intentions should be veiled to the last moment, by the appearance of encreased activity. From the strong position near Caveripatam, detachments of his light troops were actively employed on the line of Colonel Smith's supplies, and imposed on that officer the necessity of moving strong detachments of his army for the protection of the most unimportant convoys. Against one of these, expected by the pass of Singarpetta, under Captain Fitzgerald, Hyder thought proper to move in person, with a force of 4000 select horse, 2000 infantry, and five guns, in the confidence of an easy conquest over a single battalion, without guns, embarrassed by a cumbrous convoy: but Colonel Smith, who had penetrated his

intentions, detached a reinforcement of two companies of grenadiers, a battalion of sepoys, and two field pieces. Hyder, not being aware of this junction, attacked the convoy with great vivacity and imprudence; charging in person at the head of his cavalry, he had his horse shot under him, and received a bullet through his turban; the loss of several of his best officers evinced an effort of more than usual determination, and their repulse reflected corresponding credit on Major Fitzgerald,<sup>1</sup> who commanded the united detachments. The hope which Hyder had cherished of terminating the campaign with a creditable exploit was thus converted into the mortification of returning in disappointment to his head-quarters. The heavy equipments which had preceded him, having now made sufficient progress, he left a strong and efficient division, chiefly cavalry, under Muckhdoom Saheb, to watch the operations of the English army, and disturb its supplies; and ascended the ghauts with his remaining force, about the close of the year, at the exact time that the English army, after having been two days without rations, was obliged once more to move in an opposite direction in quest of food.

The Government of Bengal, although originally adverse to a confederacy, by which the aggrandizement of the Mahrattas should be promoted by hostility with Hyder, were perfectly aware of the expediency of restraining the ambitious views of that chief upon their own possessions; and of convincing him

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Fitzgerald took part in 1764 in the second siege of Madura, and in the following year defeated the rebellious Raja of Ongole. As Major he served with distinction during the First Mysore War, was present at the battle of Trinomalai in 1767, and in 1768 extricated Colonel Wood from a critical position near Hosur. His report led to Wood's recall and trial. Major Fitzgerald was then sent with a detached force into the Baramahal in pursuit of Hyder, whom, however, he was unable to overtake. Fitzgerald left India early in 1771. (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 166, note.)



whenever a favourable opportunity should occur, of the danger of provoking their hostility : they accordingly supported with their whole power the efforts of Madras under the circumstances of the present war; and to an abundant supply of treasure for their immediate exigencies had added the aid of a powerful diversion by sea, under Colonel Peach ; who landed in the northern sircars, and by a course of vigorous and judicious operations, had penetrated to Comma-met, and *Warankul*, the antient capital of Telin-gâna, considerably to the north-east of Hyderabad<sup>1</sup>; and was securing and extending his conquests, in a manner which gave solid ground of alarm to Nizam Ali, for the safety of his capital. These apprehensions, added to the unpromising aspect of his own southern campaign, had induced him to open a secret communication with Colonel Smith early in the month of December: an intercourse of this nature could not be long concealed from Hyder ; who in every estimate of the conduct of Nizam Ali, remembered that he was the murderer of his own brother ; and held his character in as much contempt as was consistent with the incessant fear of being over-reached by some unsuspected treachery : assuming,

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<sup>1</sup> " We marched the 10th of December from Elloar towards Combammatt, the Phousdahr of which had bargained for the surrender of the Fort and Circar with the Chief of Mesalipatam sometime before we took the field. But so indiscreet was the Chief's conduct on the occasion that, had the Soubah any troops at Hydrabad, we could not have taken it, as he could have thrown in a sufficient force to have defended it against all the troops in the Circars long before we could have taken advantage of the disposition of the Phousdahr in our favour. However, circumstances proved more lucky than we had a right to expect, and we reached the place in time to secure it, though a body of the Soubah's rabble had been assembled, and on the march to dispossess the Phousdahr of his charge. They halted within twenty coss of the place on hearing we had got possession of it, and as soon as we were joined by the Bengal sepoy's from Vizagapatam we advanced upon them and came up with their main body, consisting of 4000 horse and foot, which had taken

however, the air of open confidence, he announced his knowledge of these communications; and assented to the necessity of a temporary accommodation with the English, and waiting a more favourable opportunity of re-uniting the Mussulman interests, for their expulsion from the peninsula; but added that it was no longer proper, that the armies should have the appearance of an union which did not exist. Nizam Ali, who was embarrassed regarding the means of separation, and had actually been meditating the treachery which Hyder apprehended, was happy to part on such easy terms; and had moved, as already stated, in a northern direction on the 18th December, sending on the same day an emissary to treat openly with Colonel Smith for peace. That officer informed the envoy, that he was not furnished with the requisite powers; and distinctly stated his conviction, that after the shameful duplicity which had been practised by his master, the British Government would be satisfied with no demonstration, short of a formal mission of his prime minister to Madras, as an evidence of sincerity in his present professions, and as an humble

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post under the walls of a small fort. They made a few flourishes with their horse, but on our advanced guards' attempting to close with them, they walked off in such a hurry that we had not time to fire three shot from our field pieces till they were out of sight, nor did they ever stay within two days' march of us afterwards. A desperate sett of them had thrown themselves into the fort, which they resolutely defended for two hours, and did not surrender till I brought up my battalion to the gate way, which we had nearly burst open with our field pieces, when they threw down their arms.

The resolute behaviour of our troops at this place so intimidated the Zamindars, who were before assembling to stop our progress, that they all sent letters desiring our favour and protection to the commanding officer. And we took possession of the fort of Worrangle and the Circar which bears its name without seeing the face of an enemy." (Letter from Captain T. Madge to Robert Palk, dated February 20th, 1768, Camp near Combammatt.—*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, pp. 66-67.)

and open reparation for the insolent treachery of his past conduct.

After an interchange of various messages, Nizam Ali, by those artifices, to which the open character of an Englishman renders him perhaps more accessible than the native of any other country, had nearly succeeded in making Colonel Smith defeat his own professed object, by paying him a visit previously to the dispatch of the minister; and the artifice did partly succeed, by his being prevailed on to send a field officer (Major Fitzgerald) to Nizam Ali's camp, then situated at the head of the Damalcherry pass, about 120 miles north-east from Madras, for the purpose of conducting the minister to that place; where the Government assuming a proper dignity, disapproved even this mark of condescension on the part of their commander-in-chief. Hyder at the same period deputed a messenger to Colonel Smith, with pacific overtures, but the reference which was made in return to his superiors at Madras, appeared to Hyder to be a civil but distinct rejection of his advances, and he refrained from repeating them.<sup>1</sup>

Feb. 23. The negotiations with Nizam Ali terminated on the 23d of February 1768, in the conclusion of a treaty, differing in many important particulars from that of 1766, but exhibiting both in its concessions, and assumptions, evidence of the ascendancy of

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Palk, Governor of Madras from 1763 to 1767, wrote from London to Madras to W. M. Goodlad, Secretary to Government, November 5, 1769:—"When Nizamaly settled with Hyder, certainly we should have done the same. We should then have given all India a strong impression of our power, and probably have secured the Carnateek from future invasions." (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 111.) The hatred of Muhammad Ali to Hyder and the obligations to the Nawab, brought about by money dealing with many of the Madras Civilians, prevented the corrupt and weak Government at Madras from taking any firm course of action. The Directors in England were justified in believing that in all these negotiations, private advantage weighed with the Madras Government more than the public good.

Mahommed Ali; whose name Nizam Ali had positively refused to admit in any manner into the former treaty. He was now one of the contracting parties, together with the English East India Company, and Nizam Ali, in a treaty, by which it was declared, that the Mogul had, on the 26th of August 1765, conferred on Mahommed Ali, the government of Carnatic Payeen ghaut, that Nizam Ali had released him from all dependance on Decan, by a sunnud dated 12th November, 1766; and to complete the confusion of ideas and relations, Mahommed Ali acknowledged himself to hold as a free gift from Nizam Ali, not only Carnatic Payeen ghaut, but the subordinate office of Kelladar of two petty forts,<sup>1</sup> one in the dominions of Hyder, and the other under the direct authority of Nizam Ali. Regarding the first of these instruments, it would be difficult to infer any thing without the actual inspection of the original. No copy is to be found in the Company's records, and it is probably a mere fabrication. I have seen in a manner, which I am not at liberty to publish, copies of two instruments,

<sup>1</sup> *Article 8.*—

The Nawab Ausuph Jah, out of his great regard and affection, and from other considerations, having been pleased to grant and confer on the Nawab Wolau Jah (Mahommed Ali), and his eldest son, Meyen-ool-Moolk Omdet-ool-Omrah (Omdat-ul-Omrah, eldest son of Mahommed Ali), several sunnuds, *viz.*—

An ultumgah Sunnud for the whole of the Carnatic.

An ultumgah Sunnud for the whole of the pergunnah of Imungundela, *with the Gudda of Ghunpoora.*

An ultumgah Sunnud for the whole of the villages of Cathasera, etc.

An ultumgah Sunnud for the killedary of the fort of Colaur.

An ultumgah Sunnud for the whole of the district of Sonedaupé; and a full and ample Sunnud, containing a discharge for all demands, past, present, and future, on account of the Carnatic, etc.

It is hereby agreed that all, and every one of these Sunnuds shall be regarded equally binding with any other Article of the

authenticated by the seal of Mahommed Ali, which may convey some idea of the credit which is due to such performances. The first from the Mogul Emperor Ahmed Shah, dated in the 3d of his reign (1751), confers on Mahommed Ali Carnatic Balaghaut, and Payeen Ghaut, from the river Kistna to the borders of Malabar, *as an hereditary possession*. This is probably one of the documents, fabricated for the edification of the English and French commissioners, in the first negotiations to determine these pretensions. The second is from Shah Aalum, dated in the 8th of his reign (1769). This instrument confers the same possession as an *Enaum* (free gift), but the manufacturer had not studied geography, and describes Carnatic to extend from the river Kistna to the confines of Bombay. It is difficult to contemplate without indignation, the government of Madras, under circumstances which imposed no *visible* necessity for departing from the dignified tone with which they had opened the negotiation, resuming their grovelling position of tributary\* dependants. the circars, and with a ludicrous mixture of arrogance

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Treaty, and be as duly observed by the Nawab Ausuph Jah as if entered here at full length. (Aichison : *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds*, 4th Edition. Vol. IX, p. 32.)

The Sunnuds include one, dated 11th March, 1768, conferring upon Nusseer-ool-Moolk Intzain-ood-Dowlah Mahomed Sullabut Khan Bahadoor Nusseer Jung the Killadarship of the fort of Chunpoora (belonging to the Circar of that name and dependent upon the Soubahship of Hyderabad), and a similar one conferring upon Muddam-ool-Moolk Roshuno-od-Dowlah Hauphiz Mahomed Munnawar Khan Bahadoor Bahadoor Jung the Killadarship of the fort of Colaur (belonging to the Soubahship of Viziapore). (*Op : Cit : p. 39.*)

\* The English had conferred on Mahommed Ali, a rank which he construed into sovereignty, and then accepted from him a jageer, as an express mark of dependency. To keep them in the habit of exterior dependence on Indian chiefs was essential to his ultimate objects; and the farce of accepting dependent gifts himself, was an example for the imitation of his good friends, *in every thing but paying tribute*, of which he was too sagacious to give the example:

and humility, proclaiming *Hyder Naick* a rebel and usurper, and declaring their determination to conquer and retain his territories, with the concurrence of Nizam Ali ; who, on the condition of receiving a further tribute of seven lacs of rupees, graciously ceded his claim to a territory, which he neither possessed, nor had the most distant hope of ever possessing ; and these speculative conquerors even anticipated the claim of the Mahrattas, by gratuitously, and in the body of a treaty to which they were not parties, promising them the choute, or fourth part of the revenue ; while the Company relinquished, without condition, the important hold which had been obtained for them by the efforts of the troops from Bengal ; and Nizam Ali returned to his capital, with abundant cause for self-gratulation, on the address which had relieved his complicated embarrassments.

It has been suggested to the author, that the policy so frequently arraigned, may have been dictated from England, where the Company were intimidated by the administration, and the administration by the fear of giving offence to France from avowing their independency. Nor was this duplicity confined to Madras. The double government exercised in Bengal, and the acceptance of the Dewanny from a conquered and ineffective king conferring upon the Company a sovereignty which they had acquired by their own power, and exercised still with an attempt to hide it under fictitious characters, were all parts of the same weak policy. That any English administration should expect to veil from the observation of France the true tendency of any of these transactions, appears to be extremely improbable ; but that such a policy was the spontaneous growth of the great mind of the great Clive seems next to impossible. The public records afford no means of solving this problem.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> There was no truth in the suggestion made to Wilks.

The arduous and distant operations in which Hyder had been involved, revived a hope of independence among the Chiefs of Malabar; who, with too much jealousy of each other, even in their actual state of depression, to admit of any extended plan of combination, had succeeded in carrying several of the block-houses,\* and keeping Hyder's provincial commander in a state of incessant alarm, although assisted by the whole force of Ali Raja, the Mapilla chief of Cannanore. The chiefs of the English establishments on that coast, had been directed to aid and encourage these combinations, and the government of Bombay was equipping a formidable expedition, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Mysorean fleet in the harbours of Canara; reducing the places of strength on the coast; and eventually penetrating into the interior of that part of the dominions of Mysoor. Hyder's intelligence of these designs, was too explicit to admit of doubt; it was his fixed principle of conduct, on every occasion, to bend his chief force against the most prominent danger, and where this was incompatible with an efficient opposition to minor perils, he uniformly treated them with temporary disregard, until the removal of the greater evil. It was in conformity to this ground of action, that instead of sending reinforcements, he resolved to move with his main force to the westward; and if he could not arrive in sufficient time to avert, he would at least be present to remedy this paramount danger. The light force under Tippoo, was destined by forced marches, to reinforce the provincial commandant Lutf Ali Beg; the heavy

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The treaty followed the make-believe structure, and principle, which guided the government both in Bengal and Madras at this time. Clive followed the scheme of "double government" in Bengal, influenced by the wish to hide from rival European States the real position, and the Company accepted for some time this position.

\* Constructed by Hyder, see p. 530.

train followed, at the regulated rate of movement ; and, about the 20th of January, he had himself Jan. 20. refitted his equipments at Bangalore, the defence of which he committed to the care of Hybut Jung (Fuzzul Oola Khān), and proceeded by long marches to the western coast.

The rendezvous of the English expedition having been appointed off Onore, (Honāver) its appearance on that part of the coast, deceived Lutf Ali Beg, with regard to the first object of attack: marching in that direction with his whole force, he imprudently left Mangalore<sup>1</sup> with an insufficient garrison, and it was taken without material opposition in February. The immediate commander of Hyder's fleet, disgusted with the superintendence of his Lord High Admiral (Lutf Ali Beg, an officer of cavalry,) in conformity to previous compact, surrendered to the English his force at Honāver and Mangalore : it consisted of two ships, two grabs of two masts, and about ten gallivats. Honāver, Buswaraj Droog, (or fortified island,) and several minor places were reduced; and, during these operations on the coast of Canara, an injudicious attempt from Tillichery,<sup>2</sup> to carry by assault one of the principal detached works of Cannanore, was repulsed with the loss of fifty-seven Europeans and thirty-three natives killed and wounded. The English force had, however, been so dispersed by their numerous successes in the occupation of their

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<sup>1</sup> Now the chief town and sea-port in South Canara District, Madras. Was originally occupied by the Portuguese in 1547 and destroyed. In 1567 it was finally occupied by the Portuguese, who built the fort and a church. The town was taken by the Raja of Bednur in the seventeenth century and occupied by Hyder in 1768. All his and Tipu's ships were built there.

<sup>2</sup> *Tillichery*.—Tellicherry, Malabar, Madras. The factory here was established under Surat in 1683, and a formal grant for the fort was obtained from the Chirakal Raja in 1708. It was under a chief and factors under Bombay. The citadel is still in excellent preservation, standing close to the sea.



conquests, that no attempt could be made to penetrate inland, without very considerable reinforcements, which they demanded from Bombay.

May.

On Tippoo's first junction with Lutf Ali Beg, the loss of Mangalore, and the insufficiency of their means to attempt its recapture, induced the officers commanding, after closely examining the state of that place, to retire inland, to limit their exertions to the preservation and order of the interior; to cutting off the English force from all means of intelligence; and by apparent inaction lulling them into security, until the arrival of the efficient means, which were approaching under Hyder's personal command. It was his object to make these means as imposing as possible; and not a man was visible, until the overwhelming mass of his whole united army appeared at once before Mangalore, early in the month of May. The impression was disgraceful\* in the last degree to the British arms; a wretched defence terminated in embarking the garrison, consisting of 41 artillery, 200 European infantry, and 1200 sepoys, in a most unsoldier-like manner; shamefully abandoning the sick and wounded, consisting of 80 Europeans, and 180 sepoys, and all their field-pieces and stores.<sup>1</sup> The

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\* So stated by General Smith.

<sup>1</sup> In Miles' *History of Hydur Naik*, the translation of the work of Meer Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani, the taking of Mangalore is described as the result of a trick. Hyder is said to have collected about 20,000 of the peasantry about Bednur, and having provided them with wooden muskets of ebony and standards marched them down to Mangalore, and then having displayed their force on high ground within sight of the fort ordered Tippu to attack. The English thinking that the advanced force was supported by this large body in rear, evacuated the fort and retreated to the sea shore to embark on the vessels there ready to receive them and take them to Bombay. The English were then attacked on the sea shore and with great difficulty and after heavy losses escaped to the ships and deserted. The history by Kirmani is so inaccurate that little trust can be placed on it; but it is possible that this ruse may have been used with success. (Miles: *History of Hydur Naik*, p. 270).

remaining objects on the coast, and chiefly the recapture of Honâver and Buswaraj-droog, were accomplished without much difficulty; and Hyder was enabled to reascend the ghauts before the monsoon had actually burst. The body of the army with all the heavy equipments moved by easy marches, on the shortest route by the pass of Subramanee<sup>1</sup> to Bangalore, while himself with a select corps, ascended northward to Bednore, to which capital he had summoned all the principal land-holders of the province, for the purpose, as he pretended, of adjusting the arrangements of revenue for the ensuing year. In point of fact, Hyder had discovered, that a general discontent at his severe exactions, had rendered this class of his subjects well disposed to favour the designs of the English invaders; that to the amount of a willing assistance with provisions they had generally testified this partiality; and that a correspondence for combining their farther exertions had been extended nearly over the whole province. A sagacity undisturbed by mental compunction, enabled this extraordinary man in all cases, to extract the greatest possible advantage from incidents which, to ordinary minds, would have furnished only food for apprehension. He coolly announced to the assembled land-holders, that he had discovered their treasons; and had determined on a punishment more convenient to his affairs than a sentence of death: a list was then produced, containing the detail of the enormous fines, which had been previously annexed to the name of each individual: such as were present were delivered over to the charge of the department of torture, for the realization of the amount; and effectual means were taken to levy the same contributions on those whose fears had restrained them from attending.

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<sup>1</sup> *Subramanee*.—Subramanya, a village at the top of the Bisale Ghaut, leading from the Uppinangadi Taluq, South Canara District, into Mysore. The hill rises to 5,600 ft. above the sea. The pass was formerly of importance.

His affairs in Malabar also demanded some decisive measures, previously to his return to the eastward: the detached efforts of the Nairs were beginning to assume a more combined form; most of the *block-houses* had been carried, or necessarily evacuated; Assud Khān Mehteree, his provincial commander-in-chief had been killed in action; and his successor, with forces very inferior to the service, was making the best efforts in his power, to stem the increasing torrent, when Hyder's instructions to *Madana*, his fiscal governor, relieved him for the present from these embarrassments. Madana opened insidious but skilful negociations with most of the chiefs, which intimated in substance, that his master had found his conquest of Malabar an acquisition (as they well knew), hitherto more chargeable than advantageous; that if the chiefs should consent to reimburse the heavy charges which he had incurred, he would be ready to restore their possessions; and to aid before his departure in transferring to those who should accede, the territories of those who should decline so reasonable an arrangement. All were forward in embracing the terms; Hyder's provincial troops, whose escape would otherwise have been impracticable, not only retreated in safety, but loaded with treasure; the willing contribution of the chiefs of Malabar—the purchase of a dream of independence. It had been made a special condition that Ali Raja should be undisturbed; Palgaut was studiously omitted in the negotiations; and remained in Hyder's possession; and two points were thus secured in the south-east and north-west of the province, from whence at any future period Hyder could resume at pleasure his designs on Malabar: the remainder of the western coast was safe; his central possessions were in the most flourishing condition; his coffers were replenished; and he was now at leisure to contemplate the improvident course of measures, which had been pursued by the English,

while left with an open field by the absence of his army, for full seven months: for he did not recommence his operations from Bangalore before the month of August.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

*Character of General Smith—view of the several plans of military operation, proposed by him and his government—Success of Colonel Wood to the southward—Military faults—General Smith takes Kistnagherry—accompanied by field deputies—Mahommed Ali, and the Chevalier St. Lubin—Defective intelligence—Ascends the pass of Boodicota—Mulwāgul taken by the bold stratagem of Captain Matthews—Colar surrenders—Baugloor—Oosoor, &c.—Ignorant plans of Mahommed Ali—Junction of Morari Row—Scene of operations the former dominions of Shahjee—Hyder's unsuccessful attack on the camp at Ooscota—Singular defence of Morari Row—Hyder's plans—Approach of Colonel Wood from the southward—Movements in consequence—Designs of Hyder, and Smith's counter-project—both marred by Wood—Subsequent movements—Hyder to Goorumconda—Reconciliation with Meer Saheb—reviews his own situation—offers peace—and great sacrifices for its attainment—Failure of the negotiations, from the unreasonable expectations of the English and Mahommed Ali—Battle of Mulwāgul—Remarkable stratagem of Captain Brooke—General Smith at length speaks out regarding his incumbrances—Mohammed Ali and the field deputies—who are attacked in Colar—Alarmed, and return to Madras—Indirect re-call of General Smith—His plan of future operations—Recantation of the Madras Government, regarding the Nabob and deputies—Colonel Wood's division reinforced—moves for the relief of Oosoor, while the remainder of the army,*

*under Major Fitzgerald, covers the departure of the deputies—Oosoor imperfectly relieved—Disaster at Baugloor—Retreat of Colonel Wood, attacked by Hyder—relieved by Major Fitzgerald, who represents his incapacity—Wood ordered in arrest to Madras.*

**O**N the departure of Hyder from the Eastern territory, a choice of operations presented themselves to the English; and the government, and their commander-in-chief, did not exactly coincide in their opinion of the most eligible. Colonel Smith was perfectly conversant in the technical part of his profession, and possessed in an eminent degree the confidence and attachment of those whom he commanded; from the labour of applying his knowledge and experience to a reform of the ill-administered departments of his army, he may be supposed to have been deterred, by the conviction of sources of counteraction, open and concealed, which he had not the power to control: but these causes cannot explain the strange carelessness of reputation, which, with a respectable talent of recording his own thoughts, left the care of his public dispatches to an incompetent Secretary. In truth he was the best tempered man living; and this was relatively the great vice of his character. He suffered himself to be overruled by men whose intellect was diminutive when compared with his own; he had not the heart to contest a point, although he knew himself to be in the right—and his character was stamped with indecision every where excepting in the presence of the enemy. An indifference, however, to objects not congenial to his taste, was compensated by the most indefatigable attention to duties exclusively military. Cool, cheerful, and unembarrassed, in the midst of danger, he evinced, in all movements to be executed in the presence of an enemy, a degree of rapid penetration, and sound decision, which indicated the hand of a

master. As an executive soldier, he may justly be classed among the first of the age in which he lived; but in those more arduous combinations of political foresight and military skill, which constitute perhaps the highest effort of human intellect, he would be entitled to claim but a secondary rank.<sup>1</sup>

On many occasions the Government of Madras appear to have had just conceptions of the general outline of operations; and in others to have entertained projects too absurd for serious belief, if they were not found upon their records: among these was a grave discussion of the means by which their army of infantry was to cut off the sources of supply from the enemy's army of cavalry. Upon the whole, although on some occasions they formed just views, on all occasions they miscalculated the means by which their ends were to be accomplished.

On the departure of Hyder's main army, it was the general rumour in the English camp, that he had remained in person at the head of his cavalry, with the intention of changing the plan of the war; by withdrawing his infantry and guns to the upper

<sup>1</sup> Josias Du Pré, who was second in Council at Madras, who met Hyder in 1769 and drew up the treaty of that year, wrote to Robert Orme: "I am quite of your opinion in regard to General Joseph Smith. A man of a better heart I never knew, with a great deal of good Sense; but a little knowledge of Mankind is sufficient to evince that those are not Qualities fit to govern Yahoos. . . . A Man at the head of a Military Corps should have an Active Mind, and Order, Discipline and Subordination should never be absent from it: an Ensign should know or be taught that he is not a Colonel." (Orme: MSS. Vol. XXX, 10th June 1769.)

Philip Dormer Stanhope, who arrived in Madras in 1774, and on General Smith's recommendation was appointed to command one of the Nawab's cavalry regiments, wrote of General Smith, in 1776: "The memory of General Smith will ever be revered in India while either heroic bravery in the field or the most unbounded generosity in private life shall be deemed a virtue." (Letter XVIII, dated February 1776. *Genuine Memoirs of Asiatics*. 1784. Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*, III, 81.

country, for the purpose, as he had studiously reported, of watching the motions of a body of Mahrattas on his northern frontiers; and directing his efforts to starving the English army out of his own territory, and ultimately carrying fire and sword into theirs, for the destruction of its resources. While under the influence of this persuasion, and hopeless of a better system of military supply, Colonel Smith was of opinion, that to penetrate into the interior, where the difficulties of supply were stated to be excessive, for the purpose of striking a vital blow at the enemy's capital, was a visionary project: that with an army equal to any efforts, experience had shewn that under the present arrangements, it would be impracticable to move fifty miles from the frontier, without the risk of being starved: that the great object of the war should therefore be, to occupy the whole of the fertile country contiguous to the frontier, between the first and second ranges of hills, extending from Vaniambaddy, on the north, to Dindigul and Palgaut on the S. E. and S. W. (a line of operations extending over about three degrees of latitude,) and establishing as soon as possible depôts of provisions and stores, in the places most convenient to the old frontier, for supporting the eventual operations of the army. The opinion of the Government was more favourable to a single concentrated effort, for penetrating to Bangalore, and in the event of success, to Seringapatam: and with a force inadequate to the full execution of either of these projects, a plan of operation was concerted somewhat awkwardly, composed of both.

The army was formed into two divisions; one of which, under Colonel Smith, after appearing once more before Caveripatam, which was evacuated in the night, moved northward as far as Policonda<sup>1</sup> in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Policonda*.—Pallikonda, a village about 7 miles west of Vellore.



vale of Vellore, for the purpose of approaching the army of Nizam Ali, then at Punganore,<sup>1</sup> and quickening the negotiation of his minister at Madras: this object being effected, he returned to waste in the blockade of Kistnagherry, which surrendered on the  
 May 2. 2d of May, the precious time which ought to have been employed in higher achievements. A second division of the army was in the mean while employed under Colonel Wood, who, after the capture of the remaining fortified places in the southern extremity of Baramahal, proceeded with rapid success to reduce\* those which are situated in the districts of Salem, Erode, Coimbatore, and Dindegul. Hyder had the mortification to hear of the successive fall of every fortified place in those provinces, Sankerydroog<sup>2</sup> alone excepted, the only place of strength which by a strange omission, is never once mentioned in Colonel Wood's correspondence.<sup>3</sup> Tingrecotta,<sup>4</sup> the first place attacked, made a respectable defence, being garrisoned by regular sepoys, but capitulated when it was perceived that an assault was prepared.

<sup>1</sup> *Punganore*.—Punganur, the headquarters of a Zamindari in Chittoor District, Madras, about 45 miles north-west of Pallikonda.

\* The order of the principal of these captures was as follows:—Tingrecota—Darampoory—Salem—Attoor—Namicul—Erode—Satimungul—Denaikancota—the passes of Gujelhutty and Caveripoor—Coimbatore and Palgaut—Darapoor—Arava-courey—Dindegul.

<sup>2</sup> *Sankerydroog*.—Sankaridrug, a fort 24 miles W.S.W. of Salem, on the road to Coimbatore.

<sup>3</sup> Wood's detachment consisted of the 3rd European regiment, a party of artillery, the 4th, 7th, 8th, and 11th battalions, and 5 companies of the 10th (3rd, 6th, 7th, and 9th regiments). (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 257.)

<sup>4</sup> *Tingrecotta*.—Tenkarai Kottai, or the "fort on the south bank of the river" lies about six miles south of the railway line, in the Uttangarai Taluq, Salem District, and about 70 miles south-west of Vellore. It is now a place of departed glory, a small poor village; the fort has been dismantled, and the old bomb-proof building is a refuge for bats.

Darampoory,<sup>1</sup> a place of no strength, was commanded by a brave officer, with troops unworthy to serve under him; the place was carried by assault, and the necessary consequences of such an operation bore a terror before the arms of Colonel Wood, which was more effectual than his cannon. Eroad<sup>2</sup> alone, a place of fiscal importance, but no military strength, afterwards stood the assault, being encouraged by the presence of a body of horse, who promised to charge the flank and rear of the assailants in the act of storming, and did make a feeble effort for that purpose: all the other places, and among them Namcul and Dindegul, erected on hills of granite, surrendered without the semblance of a defence which could be reported to their master with even negative approbation. The practicability of securing these countries, by occupying the passes which connected them with Mysoor, was so strongly impressed on the mind of Colonel Wood, that he actually erected a redoubt for the purpose of commanding the descent of the pass of Gujelhutty, and garrisoned another small post, *Talamalla*, at its summit, as the name imports. He officially reported this pass, that of Caveriporam<sup>3</sup> and another intermediate one, to be the three only entrances from Mysoor into those

<sup>1</sup> *Darampoory*.—Dharmapuri, about 18 miles north-west of Tenkarai Kottai. The town is the headquarters of the taluq of the same name, in Salem District. It lies in a level plain, near the old fort, of which scarcely a trace now remains; it was levelled in the famine of 1877, as it was covered with prickly pear. The town was the residence of the great Munro, afterwards Governor of Madras.

<sup>2</sup> *Eroad*.—Erode, the chief town in the Erode Taluq of Coimbatore District, about 60 miles south-west of Dharmapuri; it lies close to the Kaveri river. The ruined fort was levelled as a relief work during the famine of 1877.

<sup>3</sup> *Caveriporam*.—Kaveripuram, on the right bank of the Kaveri, lies about 55 miles north-east of Gajalhatti. A fort stood here at the mouth of one of the passes from Mysore. The intermediate pass is that *via* Satyamangalam which is now the main route for cart traffic from Coimbatore to Mysore.

countries; and that he was occupied in establishing positions which would effectually secure the whole. In eighteen days afterwards, he was apprized of his error, by the presence of bodies of horse, which had penetrated through unsuspected roads; and he then expressed his conviction, that no force could prevent their descending at pleasure, through the difficult and secret passages of the hills. Notwithstanding this conviction, however, he practically persevered in his original error, by leaving two battalions to be dispersed in useless detachments, some of them extending through the Caveriporam pass, to within seventy miles of Seringapatam. To place troops, divided into mere guards, in situations to be inevitably lost in detail, was an error of judgment independent of the general plan of the campaign; which had the more radical fault of being undertaken with insufficient means, and of obliging Colonel Wood, either to spread abroad the greater portion of his troops in garrisoning such of the places as were tenable, or by reserving a disposable force to occupy them in an insufficient manner. He adopted the latter alternative on being called to reinforce Colonel Smith to the northward, and trusted to reinforcements from the old territory which were necessary to render any one of the places really defensible: the whole of these, as well as the subsequent operations and arrangements, were impressed with the mark of a short-sighted, second-rate, Indian policy, for realizing revenue and exactions; and as Mahommed Ali had the direct fiscal management of the territory thus loosely occupied, it is not difficult to trace the hand which influenced their adoption.

The possession of Kistnagherry was deemed at Madras to be essential to the support of the future operations in Mysoor; although possessing less of command over any possible line of communication than many other of the congeries of droogs which were to be left untouched, and if it should not fall

before these operations should commence, a division was to be left to blockade it. On the 2d of May, however, it surrendered, and the plan was officially promulgated to the public, by which Colonel Smith was to be aided in the future operations of the war, with the advice and direction of two members of the council as *field deputies*<sup>1</sup>; and that no source of distraction, inefficiency, and incumbrance might be wanting, the Nabob, Mahommed Ali, would accompany them, for the purpose of assuming the fiscal management of the territorial conquests; occupying with irregulars the minor forts; conducting the negotiations for "drawing off Hyder's adherents," and generally aiding with his advice on all other subjects. The records profess that the government *had prevailed on* the Nabob, Mohammed Ali, to accompany the

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<sup>1</sup> The two field deputies were John Call, the Engineer, who was Member of Council, and George Mackay, originally a free merchant, also Member of Council. One of them held the contract for victualling the European troops, and also that for the supply of carriage to the army, but the profits were shared by the other Members of Government, with the exception of the Governor. In 1769 a committee, which enquired into the causes of the failure of the operations in respect to carriage and provisions, admitted the great impropriety of the Members of Council having been principals in the contract. In a letter dated 15th September 1769 from the Directors, they said: "Upon the return of the army from the Mysore Country into the Carnatic, we find that the Field Deputies are come back to the Presidency of Madras. We cannot but disapprove of their original appointment which could have no other tendency but to impede the operation of the campaign."

As to the contract and the connection of the Members of the Government with it, the Directors said: "The advantages of the Council (you say) were small; therefore Mr. Call proposed that the members thereof should become joint subscribers for carrying on the business of that contract, which it was their duty to put on the best and most beneficial footing for the Company."

"We were yet more astonished and concerned to find that of all the Members of our Council, not one had honor or virtue enough to reject a proposal which was as wholly incompatible with their duty, as it was unworthy their character and station to accept." (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 279.)

army for these purposes, and that he had requested that some of the council should accompany him ; and there is, perhaps, not one folly or one misfortune of these times that may not be traced to the same source. Still farther to perfect the inversion of all intelligible relations, one of the said field deputies, and a member of the government, was appointed commissary general to the army, the superior, the colleague, and the inferior of the commander in chief. A person calling himself the Chevalier St. Lubin, who had travelled over land from Europe, affected to have been received with distinction at the court of Hyder, and professed to possess the most intimate knowledge of all his plans and resources, and an extensive influence among his officers, native and European, accompanied the deputation as its privy counsellor and guide. The whole history of his adventures, as above sketched, was implicitly believed ; he possessed the most ridiculous influence over the measures of the English army, and, as it will be unnecessary to recur to the operation of his suggestions in each individual case, we shall comprise and dismiss his true character in the single word, *impostor*.

In entering, however, on the narrative of these operations, the reader must not be left in the error of imputing to the Government of Madras, during the *whole* of the period which had elapsed from the departure of Hyder in January, the wilful apathy of failing to take some sort of advantage of the open field, which was left for their operations : such were the defects of the plan of intelligence pursued by Mahommed Ali and the English, and such the unrivalled excellence of Hyder's police, that the very instructions to the field deputies, dated the 7th of April, enjoin the necessity of watching the motions of Hyder, to prevent his marching to Bednore, and overpowering the troops from Bombay, nearly three months after his departure for that purpose : and one of these personages, on the 22d of the same month,

when communicating with Mahommed Ali at Arcot, officially reports as an article of news,\* that Hyder *was said* to have recently marched in that direction : but the general impression continued to correspond with the tale which Hyder had caused to be propagated, of his having moved in a N.W. direction to oppose the Mahrattas.

On the 8th of June, the advanced division of the June 8. British army, under Colonel Donald Campbell, ascended the pass of Boodicota<sup>1</sup> : on the 16th he had 16. reduced, and occupied as a post of communication, Vencatigherry,<sup>2</sup> a mud fort without a glacis, three marches to the northward ; and from thence sent back a detachment, to open the direct road from the vale of Vellore, by the pass of Pedanaickdurgum, and to reduce the rock of that name. These arrangements being accomplished, his next objects were the droog of Mulwagul,<sup>3</sup> situated two marches north of Vencatigherry ; and Colar on the plain, about the same distance to the N.W. ; the lower fort of Mulwagul was possessed without any resistance ; but, on reconnoitring the rock, it was, in Colonel Campbell's judgment, too strong to be attempted by open force ;<sup>4</sup>

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\* The fact, however, is stated in Captain Cosby's journal, on the 24th of March.

<sup>1</sup> *Boodicota*.—Budikote, a large village about 18 miles south of Kolar, Mysore. It was the birth-place of Hyder. From it or a few miles to the east, runs the railway from Bangalore to Madras.

<sup>2</sup> *Vencatigherry*.—Venkatagirikota and Peddanadrug lie to the east of the railway line from Bangalore to Madras, and on the high road leading from Gudiyattam in the North Arcot District to Kolar in Mysore. This was the direct route from Vellore to the Mysore plateau.

<sup>3</sup> *Mulwagul*.—Mulbagal, eastern gate, so called from being situated at the eastern pass from the table-land of Mysore to the temple of Tirupati. The town lies 18 miles E.N.E. of Kolar. Granite rocks and boulders lie scattered over the whole surface of the plain round the fort and town.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Campbell's force consisted of detachments of the 1st and 2nd European regiments, and of the 3rd, 5th, 14th and

the provincial commander\* of both these places was on the rock, and officiated as its kelledar or governor: it was discovered that he was disposed to open a secret negotiation for its surrender; and the terms were adjusted without much difficulty. For the purpose of favouring the plan, Colonel Campbell moved off to Colar, professing to abandon his designs on the rock; and leaving a garrison in the lower fort, which is so situated as to be in a great degree independent of the droog, and not at all commanded by it. The kelledar was the only unfaithful man of the garrison; but it so happened, that he had been commissioned by Hyder, to obtain, during his absence, the greatest possible number of recruits for his infantry; and to give special encouragement to men who had been disciplined by the English, to come over with their arms, from the service of Mahommed Ali, in which the kelledar had many connexions. In conformity to these views, a pretended negotiation was communicated to the officers under his command, by which he was, on an appointed night, to receive the important acquisition of two hundred recruits, composing two complete companies, with their native officers; who were to ascend the rock by a concerted route. Captain Matthews† dressed and

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16th battalions, now the 2nd, 4th, 10th and 12th regiments. (Wilson : *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 256, note.) Since the history was written, the Madras army has been reconstituted and the numbers of the regiments altered.

\* *Jaffier Hussein Khan*. Abd-ul-Wahâb, Mahommed Ali's brother, had married this person's sister, and when foujedar of Arcot, had conferred on him the fiscal government of Trinomalee. When Abd-ul-Wahâb was removed to his small jageer of Chittoor, his brother-in-law went over to Hyder, that he might not have to render his accounts to Mahommed Ali: he was now tired of the service, and offered to betray his trust, on the condition that these accounts should be considered as closed; to which Mahommed Ali consented.

† The same officer who was taken in Bednore in 1783. [Captain Richard Mathews (not Matthews) belonged to the 16th battalion. In 1783 when Brigadier-General in Malabar, he

painted like a soubadâr, headed this party of faithful English sepoys, and obtained admission about four o'clock on the 23d of June, but abstained from any June 23. discovery until there was sufficient day-light clearly to distinguish all objects ; he then whispered his orders for the disposition of attack, and directing the grenadiers' march to be beaten, as a sudden and terrible evidence of the presence of English troops, he had the satisfaction of securing his object without the necessity of taking a single life. On the same day Colonel Campbell arrived before Colar, and on the 28th the place surrendered at discretion, after regular 28, approaches had been carried to the crest of the glacis. Meanwhile the Nabob Mahommed Ali and the field deputies, moving with suitable dignity, with the commander-in-chief in their train, had ascended the pass of Boodicota, and moved on the direct road to Colar, as far as Arlier,<sup>1</sup> where they heard of its surrender ; and Colonel Campbell was directed to join the head-quarters of the army. Muckhdoom Saheb, who had returned from a plundering expedition into the lower countries, when he heard of the ascent of the army, was now reported to Colonel Smith to have taken post under the walls of Baugloor,<sup>2</sup> about eighteen miles S.W. of his present encampment ; and

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was besieged by Tipu at Bednore, was taken prisoner, and died in confinement at Seringapatam. In 1775 he commanded in the Northern Circars, and took Jeypur. Lieut. J. Snelling, writing to Robert Palk in 1776, said of him : "He is esteemed by everybody to be the most warlike genius in India, and the most enterprising man that ever drew sword in this part of the country.

. . . . He has not only conquered countries before unconquerable, but even with one battalion executed greater undertakings than his predecessors durst attempt ever with thrice his number of men and some companies of Europeans besides." (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 261.)]

<sup>1</sup> I cannot identify this village with certainty. It is probably Araleri, a small village in the Bagalur Palaiam.

<sup>2</sup> *Baugloor*.—Bagalur, a village about 8 miles north-east of Hosur, Salem District, Madras. There are the ruins of a large mud fort there. It is still held by a poligar.



June 28. Captain Cosby, with a light and well equipped detachment, was sent in the evening of the 28th, to beat up his quarters during the night. Owing however to the unexpected length and impediments of the route, the day had dawned before he came in presence of the enemy, and, after a vigorous effort in which Muckhdoom sustained a trifling loss, Captain Cosby perceiving the attempt to be fruitless, desisted from the pursuit. Baugloor was the seat of a poligar, to whom Hyder had continued a restricted permission to govern the district, and occupy the fort, as his dependant: and this person very prudently abstained from hostility to the English detachment, professing to Captain Cosby, whom he accompanied to head-quarters, his best wishes for their success; but at the same time representing to Hyder his inability to resist, and the necessity of temporizing, until he had a better opportunity of evincing his allegiance. On the 3d of July, the army, joined by Colonel Campbell moved by Baugloor, for the siege 11. of Oossoor,<sup>1</sup> which fell on the 11th, and a detachment skilfully conducted by Captain Cosby, afterwards succeeded in obtaining possession of Anicul<sup>2</sup> and Den-canikota,<sup>3</sup> to the west and south of Oossoor. The poligar of the former place accompanied him to head-quarters, and reported to Mahommed Ali the existence of a series of other positions, commanding some revenue, to the southward as far as the Cavery, in the continuation of a narrow stripe from Oossoor, which was actually encompassed to the east, west,

<sup>1</sup> *Oossoor*.—Hosur, the headquarters of the Hosur Taluq, Salem District, Madras, a town of about 6,000 inhabitants. To the west of the town is the old fort, large and well built. The place is now the site of the Remount Depot from which cavalry and artillery horses are supplied for the army.

<sup>2</sup> *Anicul*.—Anekal, a town in Mysore, 22 miles south-east of Bangalore, and 7 miles west of Hosur.

<sup>3</sup> *Denkanikota*.—Denkanikota, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants, about 16 miles south of Hosur. A good deal of the old fort still remains.

and south, by impenetrable woods and mountains; but which positions, according to Mahommed Ali's ideas of military and fiscal policy, were to form a chain of defence for the lower countries in connexion with the conquests of Colonel Wood to the southward of the Cavery; and a division of the troops under Colonel Lang was sent to realize this strange project, which detained the body of the army for some days longer at Oosoor.

The serious inefficiency which Colonel Smith had experienced in all his operations, from a total want of cavalry, had induced him, when last at Madras, to recommend that some of Mahommed Ali's irregular horse should be disciplined by English officers; and a small body, thus organized, had already attained habits of order and obedience, which made them useful in the field.<sup>1</sup> He had also, at an early period of the war, recommended to government to endeavour, if possible, to obtain the services of Morari Row, of whose efficiency in the wars of Laurence, he had the frequent means of personal observation. A negotiation had accordingly been concluded with that chief for his personal service, with a body of his select troops. Yoonas Khan, with the advanced-guard of 300 men, joined the army while it was still at Oosoor, and returned with it to Ooscota,

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<sup>1</sup> "Colonel Smith having frequently represented the necessity of maintaining a body of cavalry for the purpose of keeping open his communications, and of furnishing escorts, as well as to enable him to follow up any success he might obtain, the Government took the subject into consideration, but although perfectly satisfied of the soundness of the recommendation, they were unwilling to go to any great expense, and therefore requested the Nawab to place 2000 of his horse under their officers in order that they might be put into a proper state of discipline. This measure was carried out to a certain extent in December 1767, but soon proved to be a failure, for the whole of the Native Cavalry quitted the camps of Colonel Smith and Wood, without permission early in 1768, and returned to Arcot, being in distress for want of pay." (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 280.)

**Aug. 4.** two marches in a northern direction. On the 4th of August, a junction was here formed with Morari Row, whose force consisted of a nominal 3000 horse, with the proportion of irregular infantry, amounting to about 2000, which was necessary for their system\* of warfare; and the novel incumbrance of a few bad guns. But the reader will be prepared, from what has been developed of the Mahratta character, to expect that not one half the number for which this chief was paid, could ever be faithfully mustered.

The interval of inaction which had occurred since the reduction of Oosoor, was partly occasioned by the unfortunate combinations of military supply, which left, in the first stage of their progress from Madras and Vellore, the battering train destined for the siege of Bangalore, and intended to proceed by the intermediate posts of Vencatigherry and Colar, to Ooscota, the most advanced depôt in this chain of connexion; and partly by the indisposition† of the Nabob Mahommed Ali, which subsequently fixed the army for a month to this encampment. Colonel Wood also, whose operations to the southward had now terminated with the capture of Dindegul, was on his march by the pass Tapeor,<sup>1</sup> and the province of Baramahal, to be re-united to the main army, which would even then exclusively of Morari Row, not be so strong as at the battle of Trinomalee. It was the opinion of Colonel Smith, that at whatever period the siege of Bangalore might be attempted, the force ought to admit of being formed into two divisions, one for the operations of the siege, and the other to oppose the field army of Hyder, who would unques-

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\* See p. 310.

† The early part of this indisposition was no more than a foolish ceremonial of mourning for the death of a relative. Afterwards it was real.

<sup>1</sup> *Tapoor*.—Thopur pass, leads from the south in the Salem District to Dharmapuri. From Thopur village the pass road winds north in numerous zig-zags, through lovely hill and vale scenery.

tionably make the greatest efforts for its preservation ; and he doubted whether the greatest force which could be collected, would be sufficient for the accomplishment of this double purpose. The reader has had the opportunity of observing, that the scene of these operations corresponds with that of the local government which Shahjee\* the father of Sevagee had established in the early part of the seventeenth century : when, however, Eccojee, on transferring the seat of a new government to Tanjore, had sold Bangalore and its dependencies to the Rajah of Mysoor in 1687,† a reservation was made in favour of grants which had been conferred on various branches of the house of Shahjee, and its officers ; and the numerous and successive Mahratta invasions of Mysoor had facilitated the continuance of these possessions, to the successors of the original grantees, under the declared protection of the head of the Mahratta empire ; but in the essential objects of tribute and obedience, they were under the virtual government of Hyder. Such is the origin and history of the various towns which, in the English records of these times, are described as belonging to Mádoo Row ; and among them was Ooscota, where the army now lay, whose governor found it expedient to consent to its occupation by the English, for the purposes which have been described.

On the very day that Morari Row formed his junction with Colonel Smith, Hyder with the light troops of his advance had entered Bangalore. On the 9th, they made their first appearance to recon- Aug. 9.  
noitre ; and from that period continued the usual practice of harrassing the skirts of the camp. Colonel Smith, on the first junction of Morari Row, earnestly recommended to him to encamp in communication with the English line, and within the protection of its picquets ; but that chief smiled at the apprehen-

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\* See p. 87.

† See p. 111.

sion conveyed by this advice, and answering that he knew how to manage the *Naick*, established his camp about half a mile to the right of the English line, and in consequence of their remaining stationary from the illness of Mahommed Ali, had thrown up a slight line of works for its protection. On the night Aug. 22. of the 22d of August, Hyder made a disposition for the attack of Morari Row's camp, in the following order; 6000 horse in two divisions, preceded by elephants, to break down the flimsy works of Morari Row, were followed by two columns of infantry; and Hyder, with the body of his army, remained in reserve, to support the attack, and counteract any movements which should be made by Colonel Smith. The position had been previously examined by all the officers employed, and the cavalry was ordered to penetrate direct to the tent of Morari Row, whose head was the great object of the enterprize; to overwhelm the whole camp, and prevent their mounting, while the infantry should enter in succession, and complete the destruction of the whole. Morari Row, an officer at all times quick in perception, and fertile in resource, no sooner found that his camp was attacked by *cavalry*, than he gave instant orders that not a man should mount; but as the best means of defence, and the most certain of distinguishing friends from enemies, that each man should remain at the head of his horse, and cut down without distinction every person on horseback. The irregularity of the tents\* and huts, and the interspersions of the Beder peons opposed abundant impediments to the progress of cavalry in the night; and the confusion was encreased by Morari Row's state elephant receiving an accidental wound, and breaking loose from his picquets; in this state he ran furiously through the camp; and seizing the chain in his trunk, wielded it to the discomfiture of the mass of cavalry which he met, and threw them back headlong over

\* For the description of an Indian camp, see p. 327.

the columns of infantry, which were just entering, and ignorant of the cause of this retrograde movement, retired in dismay, considering the attack to have failed. Hyder was enraged at the pusillanimity of the infantry, but as the alarm was now given to the English camp, he did not think proper to renew the attack : the cavalry withdrew as they could from the embarrassment in which they were involved, and his loss in this most injudicious attempt, amounted to near 300 men killed and wounded, and 80 serviceable horses secured by the enemy, independently of the hurt. Morari Row's loss amounted to no more than 18 men, and 30 horses killed and wounded, but among the latter was himself slightly in two places, his nephew severely, and the brave and experienced Yoonas Khān had his right arm nearly cut through by a sabre in two places, and the bone irretrievably destroyed. Colonel Smith had to lament the loss of his aid-de-camp Captain Gee,<sup>1</sup> an intelligent and promising young officer, who rode into Morari Row's camp on the first alarm, to ascertain the nature of the attack ; and was cut down in the dark, in consequence of the judicious but indiscriminate orders which have been noticed.

Foiled but not discouraged in this first effort, Hyder continued to be occupied in revising and perfecting all the appointments of his army, and announced to his troops a campaign of more than usual activity, in which it would be necessary to divest themselves of every incumbrance. As the movements in his contemplation embraced an extended field of action, and the enemy had established himself in the vicinity of Bangalore, he even calculated on the possibility of an attempt being made on that fortress, while he should be too far distant to afford a timely relief ; and accordingly directed the

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Michael Gee. He had married a few months earlier Marian Carter, daughter of Roger Carter, Governor of Bencoolen, Sumatra.

removal to the rock of Savendy Droog,<sup>1</sup> of that branch of his seraglio which was lodged in the palace, and of the treasure and great mass of valuable articles which had been accumulated in this early centre of his power. For the fortress itself he appointed a sufficient garrison, under the nominal orders of his son, and the real command of his maternal uncle

Sept. 3. Ibrahim Saheb; on the 3d of September he made a circuitous march in a southern direction, with the hope of cutting off the division of Colonel Wood, now ascending from the Baramahal. The illness of Mahommed Ali could no longer be permitted to paralyze and ruin the whole campaign, he was sent on the same day under a strong escort with the field deputies to Colar, while Colonel Smith covered the movement by an intermediate march by Maloor in the direction of his reinforcements.

5. On the 5th it was expected that Colonel Wood would be at Boodicota,<sup>2</sup> and move towards Maloor on the 6th, but as Hyder's motions for the two last days were unknown to Colonel Smith, he threw his baggage into Maloor on the 5th, marched a few miles farther on the same day, and early on the next morning was in motion towards Boodicota. The route of Colonel Wood to form the junction was through a long defile, which pointed north-west for a few miles, and at a comparatively open spot, where another road opened to the north-east, made an obtuse turn in a direction due west. Hyder, calculating on Colonel Smith's waiting the arrival of his reinforcements near to Maloor, had taken the most effectual means to conceal his own movements, and assumed a position to the north-eastward of the angle of the defile which has been described, with the

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<sup>1</sup> *Savendy Droog*.—Savandurga, about 20 miles west of Bangalore, a granite hill, rising to 4,024 ft. above the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Hoskote lies about 12 miles north-east of Bangalore, Malur 9 miles south-east of Hoskote, and Budikote 9 miles south-east of Malur.

intention of seizing the proper moment, for opening an enfilading fire on Colonel Wood ; from positions previously chosen, and availing himself of the consequent embarrassment, completely to overpower him, while his own rear was open to the north-east in the event of failure.

The hills which formed these defiles, were interposed between Colonel Smith and Hyder, as well as between him and Colonel Wood ; and as he sent persons early in the morning to their summits for intelligence, reports were brought him of both Hyder's army and Colonel Wood's division, being seen in motion in the directions described. He perceived from these reports, that he should be able to reach and clear the angle of the defile, sooner than Hyder, and to assume a position to receive him with advantage. He accordingly quickened his pace, and sent scouts across the hills, to apprize Colonel Wood of his intentions ; but he had scarcely reached the angle of the defile, and was making dispositions for a formation, in the open country to the north-east, when he and Hyder were equally astonished at hearing a regular salute, in the defile to the south-east, which Colonel Wood had thought proper to fire, in honour of Colonel Smith, on receiving the message of his approach. The indignation of the latter was scarcely inferior to the disappointment of Hyder, the head of whose columns had just appeared, when he instantly countermarched to assume a more respectful distance. Colonel Smith made an immediate disposition for a vigorous pursuit, fruitless as usual, and remarkable only for the careless precipitancy of Colonel Wood's division, who out-marched their guns, left two of them without protection, which were charged, and the artillery-men all destroyed, before the guns could be rescued.

After halting the next day, to make a proper distribution of the united force into two divisions,



Colonel Wood's\* division now placed under Colonel Long,<sup>1</sup> was ordered to pursue Hyder in the direction which he had taken by Batemungul,<sup>2</sup> midway between Venkatigherry and Colar, while Colonel Smith should march in a separate column by the latter place, and regulate his movements according to circumstances. This pursuit, if such it may be called, led the two divisions considerably to the northward; but finding Hyder still to precede them, with a rapidly increasing interval, they once more returned towards Colar, having established a post at Moorgamalla, two marches to the northward of that place.

Hyder had been drawn still further to the north, by an object which was of the most essential importance to his affairs; the defection of his brother-in-law Meer Saheb, and his establishment at Goorumconda, deprived Hyder of the most distinguished and efficient corps of his army. His wife had, in corresponding with her brother, exerted all her eloquence, to detach him from the unnatural connexion which he had formed with the Mahratta state; she assured him, that Hyder was disposed to consider with reverence his attachment to the place which contained the ashes of their forefathers, and to believe, as she had endeavoured to impress, that when he surrendered Sera as a matter of necessity, he stipulated for the government of his ancestors, in the direct hope of

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\* That officer had desired permission to resign his command, in consequence of the displeasure expressed by Colonel Smith, at the incomprehensible salute which deprived him of a probable victory.

<sup>1</sup> It was Colonel Ross Lang (not Long). He was a Lieutenant in the Madras European regiment in 1758. As a Captain he commanded a battalion of native infantry at the siege of Madura in 1763. In 1777 he acted as commander-in-chief during the suspension of Colonel James Stuart. He retired as Lieutenant-General in 1785.

<sup>2</sup> *Batemungul*.—Betamangala, a village 18 miles south-east of Kolar, 10 miles west of Venkatagirikota. Hyder's retreat from Budikote led him over the country now covered by the gold mines of Mysore..

thereafter being permitted to hold it as a dependency of Mysoor; and she pledged to her brother the influence which she possessed with Hyder, as the mother of his children, for the continuance, and even the enlargement of his present jageer, if he would return to his allegiance at this critical period of her husband's affairs. Meer Saheb, having no immediate hope of relief from any quarter, long hesitated between the fear of extinction and the hope of independence: on Hyder's march to Goorumconda, he even wrote to invite the English to fall upon his rear; but on his nearer approach, the terms of reconciliation were finally adjusted, and in the event were mutually and faithfully observed, during the remainder of their lives. This important object being accomplished, Hyder, after deviating to the right, to destroy the largest possible portion of Morari Row's territory, returned, respectably reinforced, towards Colar, where the battering train of the English army was drawn out, and the field deputies continued to report their confident expectation of the early investment of Bangalore.

The affairs of Hyder were, according to superficial observation at least, certainly in a critical state—one half of his territory and some of his places of strength, were in the possession of his enemies: a chain of posts had been established, and a battering train advanced for the siege of the second place in his dominions; and an officer of merited reputation was at the head of the hostile army. Hyder knew that the greater part of these imposing appearances rested on no solid basis; that not one of the captured places was adequately occupied; that the possession of territory under such circumstances, was but a fleeting vision; and that a respectable defence at Bangalore would enable him to destroy the whole chain of communication, and starve the besiegers; while his lighter troops should carry fire and sword into the open and defenceless territories of the enemy, and extinguish

their resources. He understood also the nature of those impediments which palsied the arm of the able officer who was opposed to him ; but external pressure might produce united effort, and in the midst of well-founded hope, the chances of war exposed him also to disaster. It is certain, therefore, that in the advances for peace which Hyder now made to the English, he was actuated by a desire of making moderate sacrifices for its attainment : in an early part of the negotiation, he professed his readiness to cede the province of Bāramahāl, and pay ten lacs of rupees to the English, (not to Mohammed Ali, whom he refused to admit as a party to the treaty); and to this proposal he continued steadily to adhere to the last moment of the discussions ; but his adversaries, who were the substantial aggressors, demanded reimbursement of the expences of the war, to an enormous amount ; and a line of territory, which should at least include Kistnagherry, Sankerydroog, and Dindegul ; numerous concessions on the coast of Malabar ; the payment by Hyder of that tribute to Nizam Ali which the English had engaged to pay in the event of their conquest of Mysoor, together with some important cessions to Morari Row. The negotiation consequently failed ; military operations had not been discontinued, but nothing serious had been attempted on either side, during its progress ; and soon after its close, about the end of September, the government of Madras saw abundant reason to regret, that they had not been more reasonable in their expectations.

Sept.

The rock of Mulwāgul was one of those which Colonel Smith had deemed it necessary to occupy with his own troops ; but during his absence, the field deputies had thought proper to relieve that garrison, with a single company in the service of Mahommed Ali<sup>1</sup>, and Hyder, on his return from Goorumconda,

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<sup>1</sup> " They (the field Deputies) wanted the Coimbatore country as well as the Burmall Valley, and to be paid the expence of the war, amounting to upwards of 70 lacs of rupees. These demands

found means to practise on the Mussulman officer who commanded, so as to carry the place apparently by surprize. Colonel Wood, who had resumed the command of his division, and was nearest to the place, made a movement on the first alarm, to relieve or recover it ; he was too late for the first, but recovered the lower fort, near to which he encamped ; and, on the same night, was beaten off with loss in an attempt to carry the rock by escalade. On the ensuing day, the 4th of October, a light body of troops Oct. 4. appeared in motion towards the rock, as if covering a convoy to be thrown into the garrison ; and Colonel Wood, who had no suspicion of Hyder's army being near, moved out himself, with two companies and a gun, to reconnoitre ; and with this insufficient escort, allowed himself to be drawn to the distance of two miles from his camp, when he perceived a body of 3000 horse, followed by a heavy column of infantry, in motion to surround him. In this situation, he galloped back to the nearest picquet, consisting of two companies and a gun, from whence he sent orders for the line to be formed, and the baggage to be thrown into the lower fort ; and returned with the picquet for the support of the party which he had left. He found it completely surrounded, but penetrated through the enemy, and joined it. By this

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Hyder would not agree to and his Vackeel left the camp. On the 3rd of October, Colonel Wood having recovered of his indisposition, had joined his division, which was at this time near the fort of Mulwagle, situated on a high rock, which the English had got possession of by means of the Killedar's attachment to the Nabob of Arcot, having formerly been in his service, who delivered this place to them, which was the only place of consequence they had got in the Mysore country, as a few men could defend it, and lay very convenient for protecting the convoys from the Carnatic. A company of English sepoy, with a good careful Sergeant, was put in this fort, but, during the absence of the army, in one of their excursions after Hyder, one of the Field Deputies had taken upon him to withdraw the Sergeant and the company of sepoy, and to put some recruit sepoy of the Nabob's in the fort, in their place." (Robson : *The Life of Hyder Ally*, pp. 69-70.)

time Hyder's whole army appeared, advancing over an eminence about a mile in his front, and sending reinforcements to overpower him ; thus circumstanced, to retreat with celerity seemed to be the single chance of safety : he accordingly formed his four companies into a little square, abandoned his two guns, and commenced his retreat at a quick pace. The battalion of Captain Matthews, detached from the line to his support, saved him from impending destruction, by attacking in flank the body through which he was attempting to force his way ; and the united corps, although hard pressed, were enabled, by successive stands, to continue their retreat until within reach of further support from the line. The whole extent of the ground, which was the scene of the farther operations of the day, consisted of a congeries of granite rocks, or rather stones, of unequal heights and dimensions, and every varied form, from six to sixteen feet diameter, scattered like " the fragments of an earlier world," at irregular intervals, over the whole surface of the plain. Obliquely to the right, and in the rear of the situation in which the advanced troops were engaged, was a small oblong hill, skirted at its two extremities with an impenetrable mass of such stones, but flat and covered with earth at the top, to a sufficient extent to admit of being occupied by rather more than one battalion : the rocky skirts of this hill extended in a ridge of about three hundred yards towards the plain of stones, and under its cover the Europeans had been placed in reserve, until the action should assume a settled form. Hitherto, amid a mass of cover and impediment, which bade defiance to a regular formation, the intervals between the rocks, and sometimes their summits, were occupied by troops ; the smaller openings were converted into embrasures for guns, and support successively arrived from each army to those who were engaged : it was a series of contests for the possession of rocks, or the positions formed by their union, without any possi-

bility of the regular extension of a line on either side, so that a rock was sometimes seen possessed by Mysoreans within the general scope of English defence, and by the English among the Mysoreans. Point after point was, however, yielded by the English to superior numbers and increasing energy. The action had commenced under the most unfavourable circumstances, and not an instant of exemption from pressure had allowed time for a more skilful disposition. Hyder's guns were served with skill, spirit, and decision; and being superior in number, had obtained a manifest superiority over those of the English: his infantry, as occasion offered, were led to the charge of the bayonet, or forced forward by the sabres of their own cavalry: in the rear, a column accompanied by cannon, had made a circuitous movement, and pressed on the flank and rear of the European reserve: no successful effort appears to have been made for restoring order and confidence; every where the tendency was retrograde, and the countenance desponding; nothing seemed to remain, but the early and too tragic close of such a scene; when the whole was saved, by one of those happy expedients, which bring the knowledge of human nature into the ranks of human destruction, and exemplify the proud ascendancy of mind. Captain Brooke had received a severe contusion in the escalade of the preceding night; four companies of his battalion formed the baggage guard in the lower fort, and the sick, wounded, and followers, had of course been sent to the same protection. He saw the impending peril; the enemy was too much occupied to attend to an insignificant baggage guard; he collected the whole of his little garrison, with every sick and wounded man, who was able to crawl; two guns which had been thrown into the place, were dragged by volunteer followers, and manned by wounded artillerymen; and with this crippled equipment he moved by a concealed but circuitous route, to the summit of a flat rock which he

had marked as the scene of his operation ; his two guns with grape opened with the utmost vivacity on the thickest and most formidable mass of the enemy's left flank, every voice which accompanied him, exclaiming at the same instant, *huzza! huzza! Smith! Smith!* The cry of *Smith* was murmured through the masses of the enemy, and re-echoed, with exultation from the English ranks : friends and enemies believed that his division had arrived : order and energy revived together : regulated movements ensued ; and in a few minutes, the hordes which had pressed forwards with impatience on their destined victims, were, by a spell more potent than the force of magic, driven outwards in every direction, excepting that of the supposed Smith. Colonel Wood, on discovering the stratagem to which he was indebted, availed himself of the respite thus acquired, to assume a more regular disposition : the oblong hill, which has been described, formed the centre of the new position, and the remainder of the force was disposed in connexion with it, in such a manner, as to give entire confidence to the troops ; the slope of the hill towards the enemy, which was tolerably free from stones, being the most accessible part of the position. Hyder was not slow in discovering the error, which had rescued the English troops from his grasp, and returned with indignation to resume the attack : the whole of his cannon, including those captured in the early part of the day were brought to bear upon the position ; and he even made the desperate attempt to charge up the hill with his cavalry ; but the day closed upon these ineffectual efforts, and left Colonel Wood in possession of the field of battle : the loss of Hyder was estimated at a thousand men, that of the English amounted to eight officers, two hundred and twenty-nine rank and file, and two guns ; and both had expended nearly the whole of their ammunition. Colonel Wood, aware of his own inability on this account to maintain a second action,

and ignorant of the same impediment to its renewal by the enemy, sent dispatches by separate messengers to Colonel Smith, who was then at Colar : the first of these reached him on the forenoon of the sixth ; he moved on the same day, and early on the Oct. 6. seventh, encamped near Mulwagul. Hyder had in 7. the intermediate time continued closely to reconnoitre the position of Colonel Wood, now connected with the lower fort, for the purpose of making another effort with his remaining ammunition ; but found it too strong to be attempted until he should receive a fresh supply ; and by the time of Colonel Smith's arrival, he was again invisible.<sup>1</sup>

From the earliest opportunity of examining the army and equipments of Hyder, distinct from these of Nizam Ali, since his return from the west, Colonel Smith had stated his opinion, in the council of field deputies, in three distinct propositions ; first, that with the relative force actually possessed by the contending armies, the siege of Bangalore could not be safely undertaken, unless Hyder should be previously beaten in a general action : secondly, that it was impracticable, while moving in one body, to force him to a general action contrary to his inclinations : and, thirdly, that the only hope of such an event rested on moving in two divisions, and seizing such accidental opportunities as had been marred by the

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Smith's letter to Government reporting on the battle at Mulbagal is dated 9th October 1768, two days after he arrived at the scene. He made no reflections on Colonel Wood, but while he praised the "steady and determined" behaviour of the troop, took care to give their commandant no praise. Colonel Wood's division in this battle consisted of the 1st, 8th, 11th and 16th battalions of sepoys, the 3rd European regiment and three or four companies of the 7th battalion of sepoys. (Wilson : *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, pp. 258-262.) Robson remarks that many of the English artillery sepoys, who had become experts at the guns, had deserted to Hyder on account of the scarcity of provisions, and were the men who managed Hyder's guns in the action. (Robson : *The Life of Hyder Ally*, pp. 73-74.)



unfortunate salute of Colonel Wood. The steady behaviour of the enemy's troops in the affair of Mulwāgul, so much exceeded all calculations founded on former experience, as considerably to detract from the security of moving in two divisions; but the action had been commenced by Hyder, under circumstances which in their effects gave him advantages nearly equal to those of a surprize, and was not a fair test of the result of a regular contest with one of these divisions. Colonel Smith, however, deemed it prudent to summon a council of his principal officers, and to hear their opinions regarding the most eligible course of measures. The result was a determination to persevere in those which have been stated, to collect every disposable man, for the purpose of strengthening the divisions; to obtain from Vencatigherry supplies of ammunition and stores, (which, in two separate letters \* written by Colonel Smith to the government on this occasion, for the purpose of desiring the interposition of their authority, are described to be insufficient for the current consumption of the army, notwithstanding his incessant remonstrances :) and to divest the army of every possible incumbrance, by taking that opportunity of sending the sick and wounded by Vencatigherry to Vellore. The report of Colonel Smith on the subject of this consultation, adds a modest hint of the advantages which might be derived from the presence of Mahommed Ali near to Madras, for the purpose of enabling the government to reflect, that he and the field deputies were not only the most ponderous of his incumbrances, but withdrew from his disposable force a body for their protection at Colar, little inferior in strength to one of his divisions.†

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\* 9th and 11th October, 1768.

† Captain Cosby's journal states the force in Colar, at the time of Hyder's appearance before it, on the 5th of November, to have been 200 Europeans, and five battalions of sepoys; of the

On the 14th, the two divisions were again in motion to the northward, and continued throughout the remainder of the month, by a series of movements which, being productive of no definite result, it is unnecessary to describe the vain attempt of endeavouring to force or entrap the enemy into a general action ; every attempt at pressing Hyder to the northward, almost necessarily drove him on the territory of Morari Row ; and he never failed to improve these opportunities, by indulging in the most merciless depredations. Incessant complaints of deficiency in every species of equipment and supply, served only to embitter the regret of the English army, and to diminish, at every successive march, the faint hope of succeeding in their efforts. Hyder outstripping their crippled movements with his main body, and keeping each division perpetually harrassed by his light troops, made a circuitous movement, in which he amused himself, on the 5th of November, by alarming the nabob and the Nov. 5. field deputies at Colar, chiefly with the intention of drawing Colonel Smith from the country near Deonhully,<sup>1</sup> which it was his wish to preserve ; but he was also prepared, if he saw a favourable opportunity, to attempt the place by escalade. A cannonade on the pettah, or walled town annexed to the fort, enabled him to observe, that the military arrangements were directed (by Colonel Campbell) with a degree of confidence and skill, which afforded little prospect of success in a more serious attack ; and he retired on the 7th, after having driven off the *wulsa*,<sup>7</sup> and burned the villages, in a circuit of several miles around, for the purpose of augmenting the incipient distress for food, of which he possessed the most accurate information ; his measure having for some

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latter, one was a Bengal battalion, and another the 11th regular corps. I cannot trace whether the other three were Nabob's or Company's battalions.

<sup>1</sup> *Deonhully*.—Devanahalli, 23 miles north of Bangalore.

time been directed to deprive this place of all material supplies, but those which were received in regular convoys by the route of Vencatigherry.

Colonel Smith was recalled by the intelligence of this alarm, and returned to Colar on the 8th, through a continued deluge of rain. The geographical position of this district, subjects it in a considerable degree to the influence of the north-east monsoon; and the periodical storms had burst with violence at this period, and continued for a week longer to fix the whole army at Colar. Mahommed Ali and the deputies, although abundantly stationary throughout the greater portion of their visit to Mysoor, had not found a campaign to be so pleasant an amusement as they had anticipated: they had hinted a wish to return, which was now complied with. The report of Colonel Smith from Mulwagul, placed facts upon the records of Government, the examination of which could not well be evaded; he was directed to submit a plan for more successful operations, with his present means; and in such event he was invested with *the direction of the war*: but if he could suggest none that could be immediately carried into effect, he was requested to repair to Madras, for the purpose of aiding the deliberations of the Government. Colonel Smith, whose continuance in a nominal command, under the degrading tutelage which has been described, cannot even now be contemplated without sorrow and surprise, had not the farther meekness to undertake the sole responsibility of operations, which the misguidance of others had brought to the verge of disaster. He distinctly and practically understood the sources of counteraction, which would convert into mere mockery the delusive professions of investing him with the *direction* of measures; and he most properly determined to adopt the latter branch of the alternative, and proceed to Madras; where without animadversion on the past, he distinctly stated how

they were to succeed in future. The regiments of his own army were reduced to mere skeletons, but if the detachment under Colonel Peach,<sup>1</sup> still in the northern circars, could be spared, he risked the opinion, that no probable impediment could prevent his bringing the war to an issue, by penetrating from Coimbetoor to the enemy's capital, excepting the want of provisions; and notwithstanding the lamentable failure which had hitherto been felt, he distinctly stated that this want "could be abundantly provided against."

General opinion ascribed the ostensible demand for Colonel Smith's advice at Madras, to the desire of leaving the command of the army to Colonel Wood; whose career in the southern campaign, and personal attentions to the deputies, and the nabob, had established with them, and with the members of Government, the reputation of transcendent military talents. The nabob, the deputies, and Colonel Smith, accordingly departed on the 14th of Novem- Nov.14. ber, under the escort of a division, accompanied by Morari Row, (whose corps however remained with the army,) for the purpose of ostensibly relieving this movement from its actual character, or in the language of the deputies, to prevent any bad impression from the return of the nabob; the Chevalier de St. Lubin being the only personage of this retiring conclave, whose name a sense of shame appears to have excluded from the records.

The general tendency of Mahommed Ali's military talents may be traced throughout every part of his history; and in noticing the effects on the

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Joseph Peach entered the Bengal infantry as Major in 1764. Late in 1767, Colonel Peach conducted a force sent from Calcutta against the Nizam. Joining Colonel Hart's detachment from the Circars, he took command and approached Hyderabad. Nizam Ali sued for peace, and Peach returned to Bengal, where he died in 1770. [(*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*. 1922, p. 68, note (1).]

fortune of the war, of the unhappy commission, whose operations were thus closed, I have endeavoured to restrain, as far as stubborn facts would admit, the mixed tone of ridicule and indignation, which their proceedings were calculated to provoke : seeking the light of truth as my single guide, I have been jealous of the possible influence of professional prejudice, in the opinions which I have formed ; and I seek for security against that influence, in describing these effects, in the language of the authors of the measure. The Government, which formerly professed to have accomplished a great public object, in "*prevailing* on Mahommed Ali to accompany the army," expressed a hope, in their letter to Colonel Smith, dated the 15th of October, that before that time "*he will be disburdened of the Nabob,*" and their letter to the deputies, of the same date, is so ample and explicit, that the passage shall be cited at length. "We cannot help expressing our amazement, and great disappointment, that so unexpected an obstacle should now be discovered ; the laying in magazines of grain was to be one great object of your attention ; and we have always understood that a sufficient store to supply you during the intended siege, had been laid in at Colar, and other places ; if that has not been done, to what end have we been put to the expence of sending such quantities of artillery and ammunition, for the siege of Bangalore ? To what end have all operations been suspended ? Colonel Wood recalled from the southward, and our whole attention drawn to that object, when it is most certain neither that nor any essential service could be undertaken, without ample supplies of grain : if you have been deceived in this respect, why have we not been advised from time to time ? We can hardly say, we hope it is not so, because Colonel Smith's assertion is positive. We desire you will explain this to us immediately, for our anxieties are too great to admit of delay, and we

cannot help remarking with sorrow, that never army met with more impediments : at one time the want of artillery and stores for the siege keeps it inactive ; then the nabob's sickness fixes it immoveably in its camp ; at another time the rains prevent all operations ; and last of all, it is rendered useless by the want of provisions."<sup>1</sup>

The departure of Mahommed Ali and the deputies had caused the movement of Colonel Smith's division to the eastward of Colar : in the first march intelligence had been received, that Hyder was besieging Oossoor, and Colonel Wood's division was in consequence reinforced by the 2d regiment of Europeans, and Captain Cosby's battalion of sepoy, in order that he might move for its relief ; the remainder of Colonel Smith's division, under Major Fitzgerald, the senior officer, continued at Vencatigherry, to cover the retreat of the nabob and the deputies, and furnish escorts to place them in a situation of security.<sup>3</sup>

Colonel Wood marched for the relief of Oossoor, on the 16th, with two regiments\* of Europeans, five Nov.16.

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<sup>1</sup> Robson, who was serving as a Captain under Colonel Smith, probably expressed the general opinion of the army, in the following :—

"The little effect the operations had towards terminating the war, and all the sanguine expectations the Deputies had conceived of reducing the Mysore Country, beginning to vanish, they themselves grew odious to the whole army. When a measure happens to miscarry, the person at the head of the executive part is sure to be censured ; so it was with the General. The Deputies endeavoured to throw the odium of the failure of their own idle, vain, and indigested plans, on him, who had always been averse to them : and, like all other persons in their situation, wanted to have some other person at the head of the army." (Robson: *The Life of Hyder Ally*, pp. 75-76.)

<sup>2</sup> "2nd and 3rd European regiments about 700. Five Native battalions about 4000. The 6th, 11th and 16th battalions are known to have been with Wood. I have not been able to ascertain the numbers of the other two." (Wilson : *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 263, foot-note.)

\* The two regiments were about 700 men, the five battalions about 4000.

- battalions of sepoy, and their usual field-pieces<sup>1</sup>; to which were added two brass 18 pounders: he reached
- Nov.17. Baugloor, on the 17th; and in order that he might be divested of all incumbrances, in the night attack, which he meditated on Hyder's camp, he ordered the whole of his baggage, camp equipage, and surplus stores, into the walled town, or pettah of Baugloor; the two 18 pounders being now classed and deposited among the incumbrances. Having given these orders, he proceeded at ten on the same night, towards Oosoor, which he did not reach till seven in
18. the morning of the 18th, and was of course foiled, in the design which he had planned, of a night attack, on an army embarrassed in the operations of a siege. Hyder had, on the preceding evening, withdrawn his preparations for the siege, and remained on his ground of encampment, north-west of the fort, until Colonel Wood's advance was entering Oosoor. The march had been so hurried, that a small portion only of the provisions and stores intended for the relief of the garrison was brought up; and while these were entering the place, and the requisite arrangements were in preparation for giving repose and refreshment to the troops, the whole of Hyder's cavalry were making demonstrations in various directions, while his infantry, by a circuitous movement, turned the flank of the English, and got between them and Baugloor. Clouds of dust, indicating the movement of troops in that direction, had been observed, and reported by the outposts; but disregarded by Colonel Wood. About two o'clock, however, repeated and heavy discharges of cannon and musquetry, explained the circumvention, and obliged him to retrace his steps with fresh precipitation.

Baugloor, like most of the fortresses in that country, above the rank of a walled village, had a little fort or citadel, the habitation of the chief,

<sup>1</sup> Ten small field pieces attached to the native infantry in the proportion of two to each battalion.

his officers, and garrison; and a walled town connected with it on one side, the residence of the agricultural, commercial, and mixed classes of the community; and the place was garrisoned by one of the best corps in the service of Mahommed Ali, under the command of Captain Alexander. It had been found, on trial, that the gate of the pettah was too narrow to admit the eighteen pounders, and they were accordingly left with a guard at the outside. Some of the most portable of the stores were removed within the fort: the mass of stores and baggage was deposited, without much order, in the streets, and the draught and carriage cattle had chiefly taken shelter under the walls; but when the enemy's columns appeared, returning from Oosoor, the cattle were driven, with precipitation, within the town. These apparent ramparts are generally no more than mere single walls of mud, from fifteen to twenty feet high, and not exceeding a cubit in breadth at the summit: the gate-way is converted above into a turret for musquetry; and if at the exterior angles there be other similar turrets, these, with the distant fire of the fort, hardly ever furnishing a true flanking defence, are considered a respectable protection against cavalry, which they are chiefly intended to resist. But it is evident, unless time be given for erecting platforms for musquetry, along the interior of the curtains, that the infantry without and within such a line of defence are not far removed from a state of equality. Hyder approached in several distinct columns, preceded by cannon, and attended by pioneers, and ladders, to clear the breaches, or surmount the walls. Captain Alexander personally directed his chief attention to the preservation of the eighteen pounders; but on finding that the enemy had penetrated in the rear of both his flanks, he retreated with haste, towards the fort: the officer left in charge had fortunately ordered the gate to be shut, on the first moment of his perceiving an enemy



within the pettah wall; without this precaution every thing must have been lost? the few sepoy's that had been left within the fort, now manned the ramparts with confidence, and kept up a brisk fire, which assisted in preventing the enemy from cutting off Captain Alexander's retreat. The camp followers, and many of the inhabitants, on perceiving the entrance of the enemy, pressed into the pettah towards the gateway of the fort: men, women, and children, driving camels, horses, and oxen, with the hope of obtaining admission. This was prevented by the precaution which has been stated, and a scene ensued too horrible for description: the heavier and more active animals pressed forward on the weaker, until they were piled on each other, in a mass of dead and dying, of which the human beings formed too large a proportion: and the perils which the retreating garrison encountered in clearing this dreadful scene, to be drawn up by ropes into the fort, were not inferior to those which they sustained from the pursuing enemy. Hyder made no attempt on the fort, but the eighteen pounders were quickly put in motion; the mass of baggage in the pettah, was placed upon his spare carts and tumbrils, but chiefly on the gun carriages, which were loaded to the utmost that each could carry, and successively dispatched on the road to Bangalore. The arrangements were completed, and the whole of his army nearly out of sight, before Colonel Wood's return, to lament the loss of above two thousand human beings, an equal number of draught and carriage bullocks, two eighteen pounders, and nearly the whole of the stores, baggage, and camp equipage of his army. On the 20th he returned to repair one of the errors of his precipitation by throwing some ammunition and stores into Oosoor.

21. On the 21st, he measured back his steps to Baugloor, now destitute of provision for the use of his troops, and on the same evening prosecuted his march to

Arlier,<sup>1</sup> an intermediate post on the road to Colar, where there was a small supply. Hyder had by this time disposed of his trophies and his spoils; and while Colonel Wood believed him to be at the distance of twenty-five miles, suddenly made his appearance about noon of the 22d, his cavalry and light Nov.22. troops driving in the outposts, for the purpose of masking, according to his usual custom, the movements of his infantry and guns. Two batteries consisting of twelve of his heaviest pieces, and among them those which he had taken at Baugloor, soon opened, from an eminence too distant to be returned with much effect by the English field pieces. Colonel Wood's line was entirely exposed, but he had no baggage to impede his movements, and the relative situation was such, that, divested of the depression which seemed to have overwhelmed his faculties, no English officer would have hesitated many minutes in making a disposition for advancing on the enemy's guns. In this situation however, Colonel Wood, whose greatest military fault had hitherto been deemed a too ardent courage, remained the whole day wasting his ammunition in returning this absurd cannonade, in which he lost in killed and wounded, one captain,\* six subalterns, twenty Europeans, and two hundred sepoy; at night the enemy made a shew of retiring to a distant encampment, and, at ten on the same night Colonel Wood resumed his march; but had scarcely cleared this ill-fated ground before Hyder's infantry commenced a fire on his rear and right flank, which they continued throughout the night, obliging him frequently to halt, and repel their attacks. At day-light on the 23d; being still pressed 23. in the rear, he was moving, with a ridge of rocky hills on his right, which seemed to promise a temporary

<sup>1</sup> The name is probably identical with Aralēri, a small village in the Bagalur Palaiyam.

\* Captain Cosby severely wounded by a contusion in his side, from a cannon ball.

respite from attack on that flank. The order of march was in two columns, with the small remnant of baggage, and Morari Row's horse interposed, and the advanced and rear-guards covering the intervals, and forming what is not very scientifically termed an oblong square: but just as the advance had passed an opening in the hills, the flower of Hyder's army was perceived pressing in mass through the opening, with a view to intersect the English columns, and destroy them in detail. The bravery and the bayonets of the European troops rendered this effort abortive, and the columns continued their march, again, however, hard pressed, upon the right as well as rear, after clearing the hills. At the distance of two miles more, another similar range afforded cover to the left, when Hyder, one of whose columns had succeeded in gaining a position, which arrested the English front, brought forward the whole of his infantry, and compelled Colonel Wood once more to halt, and take post among the rocks. The attack was here resumed with redoubled fury and perseverance: Colonel Wood's ammunition began to fail, and the confidence of his sepoys to decline, when about noon, without any visible cause, Hyder drew off his troops, and commenced his retreat to the south-east. For upwards of an hour, the joy of this deliverance was unmixed with any other feeling than that of wonder; but as the atmosphere began to clear, with the recession of Hyder's troops, an approaching column of dust from the north-east, explained the arrival of succour. Rumour had quickly conveyed to Major Fitzgerald,<sup>1</sup> at Vencatigherry, the unfortunate events at Baug-

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Fitzgerald took part in 1764 in the second siege of Madura, and in the following year defeated the rebellious Raja of Ongole. As Major he served with distinction during the First Mysore War, was present at the battle of Tiruvannamalai in 1767, and in 1768 extricated Colonel Wood from a critical position near Hosur. His report led to Wood's recall and trial. Major Fitzgerald was then sent with a detached force into the Baramahal in pursuit of Hyder, whom, however, he was unable to

loor; and successive reports concurring in all the material facts, left him in no doubt, that Colonel Wood had sustained the loss of some of the most important equipments of his army, and would probably be in distress for provisions. He accordingly recalled all detachments within his reach, collected the largest possible supply of rice, and on the 22d made a forced march, in a direction which left Colar a little on his right. On the ensuing morning he was again early in motion; the fire of the contending armies, which soon became audible, furnished the point of direction, and quickened the pace of his troops; the relief was most critical, for the lavish expenditure of ammunition, in the disgraceful cannonade of the preceding day, had left Colonel Wood but five rounds for his field guns. The manifest despondency of the officer commanding, had produced its inevitable effects, and the native troops in particular, evinced a visible want of confidence in the talents of their leader. The direction of Hyder's march was towards Baugloor, and the situation of that place became the first object of discussion. Major Fitzgerald, a firm and judicious officer, on the ostensible ground of his division being comparatively fresh, suggested that with the reinforcement of the European flankers, and the exchange of a raw battalion for the disciplined corps of Captain Matthews, he should be sent to relieve and withdraw the garrison, while the remainder of the army should repair its losses at Colar; but Colonel Wood, so far from risking a division, declared his fixed opinion that the whole was insufficient to oppose Hyder. Such, in short, was the dreadful aspect of this despondency, that Major Fitzgerald felt it incumbent on him to address a public representation to his commander-in-chief, Colonel Smith, stating the urgent necessity of placing the troops under other direction "*for the recovery of*

*overtake.* Fitzgerald left India early in 1771. (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts, 1922.*)

*their lost honour.*" Colonel Smith received this representation on the very day of his arrival at Madras, and sent it, without comment, to the Government, who immediately ordered Colonel Wood\* to proceed in arrest to Madras, and Colonel Lang, in consequence, assumed the command of the army early in December. Previously however to this supercession, Colonel Wood had once more put in motion the united divisions; and by a series of fatiguing movements, productive of no effect, had repeatedly been in sight of Hyder, who amused himself with leaving his tents standing until the English columns were within random shot, when he would strike the encampment, and be in motion in a few minutes, for the purpose of exhibiting the perfection of his own equipments, and his derision of those of his enemy. While the divisions were separate, Hyder was in the habit† of declaring, in ordinary conversation, that he desired no contact with that of Colonel Smith, but would not fail to attack Colonel Wood wherever he could find him. On the approach of Major Fitzgerald, he supposed the division to be still commanded by Colonel Smith, and that impression caused him for some days to observe a respectful distance; but when he received authentic information of that officer's departure, he had no longer any anxiety for Bangalore, and prepared to execute, without delay, the farther objects of his campaign.<sup>1</sup>

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\* He was tried, but incapacity, the chief fault of Colonel Wood, is not one of those, for which the articles of war provide a punishment.

† The uniform statement of all his principal officers.

<sup>1</sup> Wilks's account of Colonel Wood's conduct of the operations in November 1768, is derived in most part from Robson's *Life of Hyder Ally*. Major Thomas Fitzgerald reported to Colonel Smith on the 24th November 1768 from his camp six miles south-west of Colar. He mentions that he marched from Venkatagirikota, on the 22nd November to join Wood's force. He then says: "I have not words to express how much I was surprised on my arrival to find the situation the Colonel was

encamped in, being obliged to take post, and what a face of despondence every body seemed to wear. I think it highly incumbent on me to give you such accounts as I have been able to collect concerning the late affair, and I am really of opinion that it may be of the worst consequences, for by it the black troops are entirely disheartened. . . . Judge Sir, how much to our disadvantage the whole affair has turned out, and what a disgrace it is that such an army has been obliged to retreat before an enemy, whom but a few days since, they sought with such vigilance." Fitzgerald went on to say that Hyder had marched back to Bagalur, and that he had tried to persuade Colonel Wood to march there to prevent Hyder taking that fort, but that Wood refused to go, as he did not think the whole army was sufficient to cope with him. He ended his letter thus: "As this is his opinion, for God's sake, Sir, consider what we have to expect—in my opinion, nothing but the entire ruin of the Company,—and let me intreat you, as you are now on the spot, to concert the proper means for the recovery (I must say) of our lost honor, and the interest of those we serve, for certainly no time is to be lost in the present emergency."

It is interesting to see what Warren Hastings, at the time one of the Members of Council, said of this matter. He joined the Madras Council in September 1769, and so had nothing to do with the contracts for supplies, in which the Members of the Council had been interested. He wrote to Robert Palk in England on January 29th, 1770: "I have lived almost in the Council Chamber since my arrival. I cannot boast having done much in it, as our attention has been mostly taken up in clearing away the dirt of the late war. It seems to be the fate of the age we live in that all public acts shall be personal; and it has been my hard lot to arrive at a time when the whole Settlement was ready to take fire at every measure of the Government, partly from past discontents and partly from present interest. Among other disagreeable things, the Board were under the necessity of bringing Colonel Wood to a court martial, of disapproving the sentence by which he was acquitted, and of dismissing him from the service. From the great opinion I have of Mr. Sullivan's integrity, (Lawrence Sullivan, a Director of the East India Company) I am sure he will applaud the conduct of the Board if he believes it to have been just, and be the first to confirm their proceedings. But as it is possible to be prejudiced when we think ourselves guided by motives of strict justice: as Colonel Wood is a relation of Mr. Sullivan and will take more pains to vindicate himself than others to convict him: and as the proceedings of the court martial are so voluminous as to frighten any man who sets a value on his time from an attempt to read them, I hope, if he has any doubts of the propriety of Colonel Wood's dismissal,

he will take the trouble to examine the facts on which it was founded. . . .” (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, pp. 117-118).

Colonel Wood was tried at the end of 1769 on nine charges, some for appropriating to his own use, stores, grain and plunder, other for misconduct in the field. He was acquitted of the former charges, but found guilty of misconduct in the field, but the court refrained from passing sentence in consideration of his former services. The Government dismissed him from the service, but ultimately the Directors upheld the finding of the court martial and Wood's acquittal was confirmed.

Probably the officers on the court martial could not condemn Wood “for many things which most of themselves had probably been guilty of, nor disapprove of the proceedings without acknowledging those perquisites to be illegal which they would fain establish as their right.” (Letter from W. M. Goodlad to Robert Palk, February 5th, 1770. *Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 121.) Colonel Wood died at Madras in 1774.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

*Hyder's General, Fuzzul Oolla Khán, descends from Seringapatam to Coimbetoor—His success over the unmilitary dispositions of the English—Interesting anecdote of Serjeant Hoskan—Gujelhutty—Orton, provincial commander, retires to Eroad—Treachery at Coimbetoor, &c.—Captain Johnson at Darapoor—Bryant at Palgaut—Singular retreat round Cape Comorin—Faisan at Caveripoor—holds out—The minor posts fall—Hyder descends the pass of Policode into Bāramahāl—and turns towards Coimbetoor by the pass of Topoor—Government of Madras awakes from its dream of conquest—Corps of Major Fitzgerald follows Hyder from Mysoor—Places fall to Hyder in rapid succession—Fitzgerald's reasons for inclining towards Trichinopoly—Hyder towards Eroad—takes Caroor—destroys the corps under Nixon—appears before Eroad—Strange conduct of Ortan—Surrender of Eroad—and of Caveriporam—Breach of capitulation—justified as retaliation for a breach of parole—Reflections on that transaction—Hyder desolates the country to the east—Military contribution on Tanjore—Major Fitzgerald, as usual, in want of food—Contrasted conduct of the belligerents—Attempt at negotiation through Captain Brooke—Statesman-like conversation of Hyder—Mission of Mr. Andrews in consequence—Cessation of hostilities for twelve days—Resumption of hostilities—Smith in command—Hyder frequently embarrassed by the superior skill of his opponent—sends to the westward the mass of his army—and suddenly appears at the gates of Madras with cavalry alone—Mr.*



*Du Pre sent out to negotiate—Smith orders Lang to attack Hyder's army when entangled in the pass—himself following Hyder in person—stopped by the positive orders of his Government—Negotiation and treaty of 1769—discussed—Short review of the conduct of the war.*

**H**YDER, on his return from the west, had relieved Fuzzul Oolla Khân from the command of Bangalore, and sent him to Seringapatam. The commandants of all the principal garrisons and field corps, had, in conformity to a general instruction, been employed, since the commencement of the war, in procuring new levies, which were now sufficiently instructed to take the garrison and provincial duties; and the old troops, including the respectable detachment from Malabar, had been directed to repair to Seringapatam, where Fuzzul Oolla Khân continued to be actively employed, in giving them the requisite organization and equipments, as a field force. Early in November, this officer took the field with a well composed corps of 7000 cavalry and infantry, and ten guns, and a command over the irregular infantry, which was intermixed with the mass of the inhabitants below the ghauts: he knew that he should be aided by the active exertions of this numerous class, and by the best wishes of a population driven to despair, by the horrible exactions of Mahommed Ali's collectors of revenue, whose system of misrule left at an humble distance all the oppression that had ever been experienced from the iron government of Hyder: but proceeding with a skilful caution, he moved towards the passes of Caveriporam and Gujelhutty, to obtain a perfect knowledge of the number and nature of the English *posts*\* *before he should attack*

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\* The unmilitary disposition of those of Caveriporam, are thus described by Captain Faisan, the officer commanding on the 5th of November. "My present situation is such, that I am unable to move to the assistance of any post, I have one serjeant

them. At the former of these, an honest and brave serjeant, named Hoskan, who commanded the advanced post of two companies and one gun in a ruined mud fort, repelled the attempts of Fuzzul Oolla to take it by a coup de main; and without the most remote suspicion of his perilous situation, after modestly reporting the fact to his officer, adds, with the most interesting confidence and simplicity, "I expect them again to-morrow morning in two parties\* with guns: I will take the guns from them with the help of God." But his confidence was disappointed,

and one company at Caveriporam; one company at the first pass, ten miles from hence; one company at the second pass, with one gun and one tumbril, 25 miles distant; one serjeant and one company at Allembady, 40 miles north; and one serjeant and two companies at Adjiporam, 55 miles west."

[The return signed by Colonel Wood gave the following very faulty disposition of troops:—

	Companies
Guzlehutty Pass, and others (18) depending on the forts of Danaicencottah, Guzlehutty and Talla Mullay: Nine companies, 4th battalion ..	9
Caveripooram Pass: Captain Faisan, six companies, 7th battalion. Fort Caveripooram, and Allambady .. .. .	6
Fort of Suttiamungalum, Dindegul and Pulney: Three companies, 10th battalion, and some Nabob's gunners and topasses .. ..	3
Sunkerrypoorum Fort: Two companies of Nabob's sepoy .. .. .	2
Coimbatore Fort: Three companies of Nabob's sepoy .. .. .	3
Darapuram: Two companies of Nabob's sepoy .. .. .	2
Erode—37 Europeans .. } One company of	
Chandamungalum .. } Nabob's sepoy ..	3
Namcul .. .. in each fort.	
Salem: Nabob's sepoy, three companies .. ..	3
Omalar " " " " .. ..	3

From correspondence of the time, the officers commanding were left without provisions, money or instructions. (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*.)]

\* 700 horse, 3000 regular infantry, 2000 irregulars, and 3 guns, 12 pounders, was the detachment he reported; but they had been reinforced with 4 additional guns.

for after the post had been made a heap of ruins, it was carried by a sanguinary assault ; but I am unable to satisfy the reader's anxiety for the fate of the brave serjeant. The other posts fell in succession : that at Gujelhutti, where a Lieutenant Andrews commanded, stood two regular assaults ; but he was killed in the second, and the place surrendered on the

Nov.19. 19th of November. The troops in the pass, under the command of Captain Orton, who, until the moment of attack, continued to maintain the absurd doctrines of Colonel Wood, successively abandoned their positions and their guns, and retreated with precipitation to Satimungul ; and from thence to concentrate the remaining force at Eroad. Among the strange military anomalies of Colonel Wood, and his coadjutor, the fiscal agent of Mahommed Ali ; the former commandant of Coimbetoor, who had betrayed it to the English, was continued in the command of the irregular troops of his former garrison—as *kelledar of the place*, exercising a joint non-descript authority with the European officer, who commanded the regular troops. While the greater part of these were  
29. out at exercise on the 29th of November, with the willing aid of the inhabitants, he seized the occasion to massacre all those within,\* to shut the gates, and, assisted by a body of cavalry, who had approached for the purpose, made prisoners the men at exercise, who, as usual, had only blunt cartridges. Fuzzul Oolla Khān who had concerted the plan, waited for its accomplishment before he should descend the Gujelhutti pass, with his main body, and immediately sent a dispatch to Hyder, to report that he should have completed his descent† by the 4th of December ; the treachery at Coimbetour, and a similar exploit at Denaicancota gave just cause of

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\* Among the unfortunate victims was Mr. Hamilton, the paymaster of the district.

† It was then so precipitous that the gun carriages were taken to pieces, and sent down piece-meal on sledges.

alarm to all those officers whose garrisons were not exclusively composed of English sepoy<sup>1</sup>; all of them being aware, that they had no means of defence. In a few days the rumour of Hyder's approach from the north was abundantly confirmed. Captain Johnson who commanded at Darapoor, with 400 faithful sepoy<sup>1</sup>; made good his retreat to Trichinopoly, in the face of Fuzzul Oolla's whole force; a gallant and skilful achievement, which deservedly fixed the reputation of that respectable officer. Lieutenant Bryant who commanded at Palgaut, with a small detachment of his own sepoy<sup>1</sup>, and the remaining part of the garrison, composed of Nabob's troops, and irregulars hired in the country, having certain intelligence of a plan of massacre within, and the evidence of being invested without, concerted with his faithful sepoy<sup>1</sup> the means of escaping from these complicated dangers: they withdrew unperceived in the night, and following a secret path known to one of the sepoy<sup>1</sup>, through the woods and mountains, to the south-west, arrived in safety at Travancore; and thence returned by Cape Comorin to the south-eastern dependencies of Madras. The option had been given to Captain Faisan of evacuating Caveripoor, and joining Captain Orton at Erood, but he preferred to await the events of war, in the post which he had been ordered to defend. All the minor posts throughout the country, successively fell without resistance.

On the 6th of December, Hyder descended east-ward into Barāmahāl, by the excellent pass of Pulicod<sup>2</sup>, and thence southwards through that of Topoor,

<sup>1</sup> These were Nabob's sepoy<sup>1</sup>—not sepoy<sup>1</sup> of the regular Madras Army. (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 268.)

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Bryne (not Bryant) had with him at Palghaut three companies of the 8th battalion, besides some of the Nawab's sepoy<sup>1</sup>. (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 268.)

<sup>3</sup> *Pulicod*.—Pālakōdu, is a railway station on the railway running from Hosur southward to Morappur on the South Indian main line to Madras.

through a chain of hills running east and west, which at this place connects the first and second ranges of great mountains, whose direction is north and south; and Colonel Lang, who now commanded in Mysoor, on receiving intelligence of this event, which had long been foreseen, detached in the same direction a light but efficient division, composed of the best troops of the army, under Major Fitzgerald, Dec. 10. which marched on the 10th. No adequate means had been adopted, for repairing the losses to be expected in the sepoy ranks, from the ordinary casualties of war, and by a sick list necessarily augmented in the last campaign, by the change of climate, which is ever felt more sensibly by the Indian, than by the seasoned European soldier. After therefore furnishing to Major Fitzgerald an efficient corps of 5000 men,\* Colonel Lang found himself under the walls of Vencatigherry reduced to a force, exclusively of garrisons and detachments, of 370 Europeans, and 900 sepoys; two 6 pounders, one 3 pounder, and two howitzers.

On Colonel Smith's arrival at Madras, the Government were roused to the consideration of an opinion, which although he had never attempted to conceal, he ought never to have suffered the deputies to over-rule; that Colar was no place of safe deposit for stores, without an army in its vicinity; and they awoke from the golden dreams of conquest in Mysoor, to the sad reality of providing for the security of these means which had been ostentatiously prepared

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* One troop of Europeans, and all the disciplined	
black cavalry	500
The 3d regiment of European infantry	350
Flank companies of the 1st and 2d ditto	150
Five select battalions of sepoys	4000
	<u>5000</u>

8 six-pounders and 6 three-pounders, with their proportion of artillery men, with the best equipments which the army could furnish, if army it might be called.

for the capture of the capital. A light corps under Tippoo, ranging round his head quarters at Bangalore, was the only force in those provinces, and Colonel Lang was directed to withdraw the battering train from Colar, while Hyder's absence rendered it practicable; but it was determined to risk a garrison there, under the command of Captain Kelly, for the purpose of resuming offensive operations in that direction, if the future chances of war should justify the attempt; and the egregious improvidence of scattering troops over a country in untenable posts, which promoted no one object of the war, was now evinced, by the necessity of sending directions to all the garrisons to escape by night, as they could, to the nearest places of strength.

Hyder, in descending through the pass of Policode, was preceded by emissaries in every direction, who announced the intelligence of his having defeated and destroyed the English army, and of his approaching to re-occupy his own posts in the lower country, preparatory to the conquest of Madras. The garrisons, with the exception of Eroad and Caveriporam, were composed, in various gradations of inefficiency, of the same materials as those which have already been described, excepting that in those of the provinces of Baramahal and Salem, the garrisons were of Nabobs' troops, without any intermixture of regular English sepoys: they followed the same disgraceful fate as those in the province of Coimbetoor, and fell, as if a magic wand had accompanied the summons. Major Fitzgerald, who followed with rapid strides, had the mortification to hear at each successive march, of the surrender\* of the place which he next hoped to relieve. As he

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\* Their surrender is reported by Major Fitzgerald on the following dates. On the 6th Darampoory—7th Tingericotta—12th Oomaloor—15th Selim—17th Namcul—19th Caroor—25th Eroad—31st Dindegul. Caveripoor and Palgaut are not mentioned in his dispatches.

approached the Caveri, he had intelligence that Hyder had crossed, or was about to cross the river, a little to the eastward of Caroor; and had determined to leave Fuzzul Oolla to invest that place, and Eroad, and to proceed himself with the main army to attempt Trichinopoly, or levy contributions on Tanjore, and the southern provinces. Deeming Eroad to be safe for the present, from his knowledge that at least 200 Europeans, 1200 regular sepoy, eight pieces of good battering cannon, and two mortars, had been allotted for its defence; and knowing Trichinopoly to be in a defenceless state, from having been drained of its troops, for the service of Coimbatore, he inclined to the eastward for the protection of that more important object. This movement determined Hyder to the opposite direction; Caroor fell without much resistance; and he moved up the right bank of the Caveri for the siege of Eroad.

On the departure of Colonel Wood from this province, Colonel Freschman<sup>1</sup> had been appointed to succeed him; and after the descent of Fuzzul Oolla had retired sick to Trichinopoly, leaving the command of the troops in the province to Captain Orton, whom we have already noticed, as retreating from the passes, to concentrate his force at Eroad. The cruel rapacity of Mahommed Ali's management had caused provisions to disappear over a province not exceeded in fertility and abundance by any portion of the earth; and Captain Orton, who had been assured by the fiscal officers of an ample supply of provisions at Eroad, found the quantity totally insufficient, even for a short siege; and had sent to Caroor, a distance of 40 miles, a detachment under Captain Nixon, composed of 50 Europeans, 200 sepoy, and two three-pounders, to escort a supply from thence. The approach of Hyder was known, but it was calculated that before his arrival, there would be time to bring

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Friessman was an ensign of Swiss infantry in 1754.

up two more convoys from Caroor; and the force was deemed sufficient to oppose any detachment which could be sent against it, by Fuzzul Oolla, who was supposed to be at some distance. It had not however proceeded much above an hour on its march, before a small encampment was observed to the eastward, of about a thousand horse; these were soon mounted, and after examining the force of the detachment, withdrew, skirmishing, as they retired, for some miles. There was between Caroor and Eroad, a small intermediate post, where Captain Nixon intended to halt; and as he had just mounted the summit of a rising ground, from whence he could descry it at the distance of two miles, three well directed cannon-shot from some masked guns plunged into the head of his column; he immediately formed, but had scarcely time to unlimber his three-pounders, before he had the mortification to find his party cannonaded by ten field-pieces, extremely well served, at a distance little exceeding point blank. He judiciously fell back a few paces, to cover his men in some degree, by the interposition of the crest of the hill, until he could examine the best means of forcing his way to the post, which he supposed to be still occupied by his own troops; conceiving the body opposed to him to be no more than a re-union of Fuzzul Oolla's detachment. It was Hyder's whole army; and in a few minutes, two deep columns of infantry appeared, directing their march against his little party, and a body of about 12,000 horse, moving with the utmost rapidity, to envelope and destroy them. The English detachment maintained the firmest attitude, in the face of these overwhelming numbers; they reserved their fire, until the enemy's column was within twenty yards: when the little band of 50 heroes gave their fire, rushed in with the bayonet, and caused the column opposed to them to break, and fly with the utmost precipitation: unhappily this effort of useless gallantry only accelerated



their destruction ; the cavalry of Hyder seized that moment to charge the left and rear of the sepoy ; and the rest was such a scene of carnage, as always follows the triumph of such troops. Not an officer or man, European or native, escaped without a wound, with the single exception of a Lieutenant Goreham, who by speaking the language, an attainment rare in those days, was enabled to explain himself to an officer of rank, who had the humanity to preserve him, by desiring that he would mount behind himself on the same horse. The wounded were immediately placed in litters, or other conveyances, and Hyder, who always availed himself of recent impressions, hurried off to display his barbarous trophies, before the walls of Erood : and for the purpose of distinctly unfolding the facts, a flag of truce was sent in for an English surgeon, to dress the wounded. In a sufficient time after his return, Lieutenant Goreham was enjoined to translate into English, a summons in Hyder's name, demanding the surrender of the place, and inviting Captain Orton to repair in person to Hyder's tent, under the assurance that if the terms of capitulation could not be adjusted, he should be at liberty to return for the defence of the place : there is too much ground for believing the report, that Captain Orton had dined when he received and accepted this strange invitation. His next in command was Captain Robinson, who had capitulated at Vaniambaddy in the preceding year, under his parole not to serve during the remainder of the war, and was now acting in violation of that parole, necessarily under the authority of his government, who had thus appropriated all that they could of his dishonour. The knowledge of this fact was Hyder's chief motive for desiring the conference, to which Captain Orton had so absurdly consented ; but affecting to have first discovered it in the course of conversation, he declared that he considered this violation of compact to absolve him from the obligation of

observing his own ; but if Captain Orton would write an order for the surrender of the place, he would still engage for the safe conduct of the whole garrison<sup>4</sup> with their property to Trichinopoly. Captain Orton resisted this dereliction of duty throughout the first day ; and the modes cannot be distinctly traced, but may well be imagined, by which, in the course of the next, he was induced to write the order ; which no officer ought to have regarded ; and least of all an officer in the predicament of Captain Robinson. Such, however, is the fact, that the garrison surrendered\* on the same evening. All this intelligence preceded the arrival of Hyder before Caveriporam, a place possessing not half the means of defence, but commanded by an officer who was animated by another spirit. This place had long been besieged by the main body of Fuzzul Oolla's corps ; a whole face of the miserable rampart had been laid open ; successive lodgements had been cut off by corresponding retrenchments, until Captain Faisan, converting the houses into lines of defence, prolonged his resistance in a remnant of the ruins ; till having intelligence more authentic than that announced by the enemy, of the actual state of affairs, he felt the duties which he owed to the surviving troops, and capitulated on the condition of being sent himself, and the whole of his garrison, as prisoners on parole, to Trichinopoly. Hyder's convenient casuistry found no difficulty in maintaining the justice of retaliation on an enemy, in all cases, in more than an equal degree ; and the garrisons of Caveriporam as well as Eroad, were sent, without compunction, to the dungeons of Seringapatam, in return for an individual violation of a

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\* The French author of the life of *Ayder*, makes the capture of Captain R. to have occurred in a march from *Madras* to *Madura* ; and the incidents relating to Eroad, at *Elvassinor*, near *Tiagar*. Captain R. is said to have been immediately hanged on a tree. It is not the justice of the sentence, but the truth of the fact that is in question ; he died in prison.

parole of honour. It is not intended to insinuate, that a violation of honour by one party is an excuse for it in another; nor can it be safely affirmed, that Hyder would have regarded the faith of the capitulation, if unprovided with the plea afforded by Captain Robinson. In his general character he was as ostentatious of good faith, as he was prompt in seizing a pretext for its violation: but how culpable soever he may have been, or would have been, the government of Madras had no ground of complaint; since, by their employment of Captain Robinson, they converted his individual guilt into national disgrace, and furnished a perpetual motive for distrust of their own faith, and perpetual ground for retaliation.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1768 closed with these events. Of the territorial possessions which had been wrested from Hyder in the course of two campaigns, he had recovered the whole in about six weeks from the commencement of Fuzzul Oolla's operations, and little more than three from his own descent; not one of the conquests, which had overspread so much paper, in the pompous dispatches of the two preceding years, now remaining to the English, except

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Orton was put on his trial by court martial on October 11, 1769. The charge was as follows:

"Captain Roderick Orton put under arrest by order of the Governour. For quitting the fort of Erood which was entrusted to his care, and which he ought to have defended, and going out to the enemy in a manner unbecoming his duty as an officer; and being in the enemy's camp sending orders, or advice from thence to the officer next in command to induce him to give up the said fort to the enemy, which upon such orders and advice was immediately done." (Signed) Ch. Th. Chaigneau, Town Major.

Captain Orton was found guilty and cashiered.

Wilks suggests that the order for surrender was obtained, either by threat, or the actual application of torture. Orton made no allusion to anything of the kind in his defence, but in Col. Miles' translation of *Meer Hussain Ali Khan Kirmani*, Captain Orton is said to have objected and resisted the demand

Colar and Vencatigherry, two untenable posts; and Kistnagherry, where the garrison might remain safely perched on the summit of the rock, without any probable influence on the future character of the war. These places were left without anxiety, to be sealed up by the provincial troops. The corps of Fuzzul Oolla was sent to operate from Dindegul upon the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely; and Hyder, recrossing the river Caveri, directed his march to the eastward, along the northern banks of that river. Major Fitzgerald, who had been under the necessity of detaching from his small force, for the security of Trichinopoly and Madura, was at Munsoorpet opposite the former place; and finding on Hyder's nearer approach that he pointed to the north-east, marched with all diligence to place himself farther north, for the purpose of intercepting his direct progress to Madras. Hyder, to whom, in the career of destruction which he meant to pursue, all routes were for the present indifferent, crossed to the south-east, in the rear of Major Fitzgerald's tract. A wide expanse of flaming villages marking the direction of his course, he descended by the branch of the Caveri, which here assumes the name of Coleroon, and

to surrender, but Hyder's servants "would not allow his words any weight, but by fair and foul means, they at length compelled him willing or unwilling to write an order to surrender the fort, and stores." (Miles: *History of Hydur-Naik*, p. 277, Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, pp. 271-272). Col. Wilson remarks on the surrender: "The garrison, had it been well commanded, was sufficiently strong to have held out for some time, probably long enough to have enabled Major Fitzgerald to relieve it. It was composed as follows:—

European infantry	..	184
4th battalion (3 Reg. N I)	..	620
10th battalion (9 Reg. N I)	..	613
Nawaub's sepoy	..	143
Topasses	..	57

8 or 10 artillery men, and 25 men belonging to the 8th and 11th battalions." (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 272, note 3.)

accepting four lacs of rupees from the Raja of Tanjore, for sparing his country, returned to the situation which Major Fitzgerald had been obliged to abandon, to seek for food, at Cuddalore, on the sea coast ; according to the wretched combinations of mis-rule, by which an English corps has so often been made to starve in the midst of an abundance which was professedly its own.

At this critical period the belligerent powers pursued a course, which furnishes a tolerably accurate criterion, of the political wisdom by which they were respectively directed, in the course of the war. The Government of Madras, who, in their imaginary career of conquest, had rejected the most reasonable terms, now made advances for accommodation ; which Hyder in that course of prosperity, which had excited their alarm, received with moderation and complacency. He returned through Major Fitzgerald a suitable answer to the Governor's letter ; and requested that a confidential officer might be sent to his camp, to whom he might explain the grounds of accommodation to which he was willing to consent. Captain Brooke, whose prompt and judicious conduct at Mulwagul had produced such fortunate effects, was selected by Major Fitzgerald for this purpose ; and his report of the conversation furnishes at once some features of Hyder's character, and a tolerably correct abstract of the conduct of the parties.

Hyder began the conversation by observing, that for the last four years,\* Mahommed Ali had been incessantly engaged in endeavours to create a rupture between him and the English ; that he had failed in his attempts with Mr. Pigot, and Mr. Palk, the preceding governors ; but had unfortunately succeeded with Mr. Bouchier, who was too manifestly the aggressor in the present war. That he (Hyder) had for many years kept an envoy at Madras, for the express

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\* The commencement of the sovereignty of the treaty of Paris.

purpose of endeavouring to establish a solid and lasting amity with the English ; but his efforts were perpetually counteracted by Mahommed Ali. That since the commencement of the war, he had made two unsuccessful overtures for accommodation, the first to Colonel Smith, at Kistnagherry, and the second to the field deputies at Colar; in which, although the party aggrieved, he had consented to considerable sacrifices: that on the western coast, the commercial establishments from Bombay had long been in the habit of exchanging the manufactures of Europe for the sandal, the pepper, and other products of these provinces ; that the intercourse was equally advantageous to both parties; and promoted the good-will which he desired to cherish; until the influence of Mahommed Ali extended thither also, and compelled him to return from the East for the preservation of his western possessions; that during his absence a large portion of his country was overrun, and exclusively of the destruction inseparable from war, Mahommed Ali had levied pecuniary contributions to the amount of twenty-five lacs of rupees ; that notwithstanding these injuries, and his recent successes, he was still willing to make peace with the English if they would look to their own interests; exclude Mahommed Ali from their councils, and send up Colonel Smith,\* or a member of council to the army with full powers to treat. He then

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\* Hyder at all times professed the highest respect for the military talents and personal character of Colonel Smith; at the conclusion of the peace, he expressed an anxious desire for an interview with his preceptor, as he named him, in the science of war, whom he wished to make his friend on the return of peace; circumstances did not admit of Colonel Smith's complying with this desire, and Hyder then requested that he might be favoured with his portrait; which some time afterwards was accordingly sent. It was deposited by his son Tippoo among other lumber, and on the capture of Seringapatam in 1799, was sold by auction with other prize property ; and is now in the possession of my friend General David Smith, of Cometrow, in Somersetshire.

proceeded to observe, that the Mahrattas periodically invaded his country to levy plunder; and that his opposition to them rendered Mysoor a shield to Arcot; that they had frequently proposed to him a partition of the latter country, a measure which he had uniformly declined, from the conviction that it would be ultimately injurious to himself; he then dismissed the attendants, and stating that what he had now to say, was in confidence to the English alone, he announced the preparation of the Mahrattas\* for a powerful invasion in that direction; a fact he added, of which the English must be perfectly aware, from their vakeel at Poona; that his interests were directly opposed to any union with that people; but he was unable to oppose both them and the English, at one and the same time; that he would be under the immediate necessity of making his election of a friend between the two, and that it now depended on the English what election he should make; whether as heretofore to shield them from danger for the preservation of his own interests; or in a more unpleasant pursuit of the same interests, to combine for their destruction. To these open, simple, and statesman-like remarks, Captain Brooke replied in a suitable manner; that being furnished with no powers, he could only observe from himself, that from Hyder's own statement of the case it was his obvious interest to cultivate the alliance of the English, whose friendship it depended on himself to render a permanent good; while that of the Mah-

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\* All this was perfectly true, and Nizam Ali was a member of the confederacy; the Government of Madras had stated this apprehension in their dispatches to Coimbatore, in the preceding October, Madoo Row had actually marched from Poona, but was recalled by intelligence of an unfavourable nature from Malwa.

[Madhu Rao was engaged in negotiation with Hyder and the Nizam. He wished to draw tribute from Hyder, hoping he would accept an arrangement to obtain the aid of the Mahrattas against the English. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. I. p. 559 and note.)]

rattas resembled the delusive\* streaks of light which precede a storm. These Hyder replied were precisely his own thoughts; and it was therefore that he wished Colonel Smith in particular to come up to the army, invested with full powers. Captain Brooke intimated the probable expectation of his sending a vakeel to Madras; to which Hyder replied, that he never would so negotiate a peace; because independently of the umbrage it might give to the Mahrattas, in consequence of the expectation of confederacy which he had found himself obliged to encourage, he knew that at Madras every effort would be frustrated by Mahommed Ali; who would always desire to keep the English at war, in order that he might himself plead poverty, (as he was now doing after having rifled the richest provinces of Mysoor,) and thus keep them in a state of perpetual dependence, poverty, and impotence. Captain Brooke, on taking leave observed, that it would be an acceptable evidence of his friendly disposition, to put an end to the plunder and violation of the defenceless inhabitants; to which Hyder significantly replied, that his treasury was not enriched by such excesses; but that the exigency of his affairs had obliged him to accept the services of some volunteers,† whose conduct it was difficult to restrain. The report of this conversation was forwarded to Madras, and Captain Brooke was again ordered to repair to Hyder's camp, to communicate an outline of the terms to which the Government was willing to agree; these terms, which Hyder deemed to be totally inconsistent with the actual condition of the parties, were positively rejected; but Hyder said, that he would be still ready to receive Colonel Smith, or a gentleman of rank, charged with reasonable proposals, and full powers. The Government accordingly determined to send

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\* The simile is taken from Captain Brooke's dispatch.

† Meaning the Pindaries, who serve without pay, on the condition of being permitted to plunder at large.



Mr. Andrews,<sup>1</sup> and once more requested Colonel Smith to assume the command of the fragments of their armies, which were directed to reunite at Chittapet a fort about 70 miles to the S. W. of Madras, and conveniently placed for the junction of Colonel Lang's small division, then at Vellore, which was eventually destined to proceed towards Madras. Colonel Smith

- Feb. 1. assumed the command on the 1st of February; and after some manœuvring productive of no results, Mr. 14. Andrews passed to Hyder's camp on the 14th. The Government had proposed, that during the conferences, his army should retire to Ahtoor,<sup>2</sup> within the first range of hills, while Colonel Smith's should remain at Tiagar, not far to the eastward of that place. Hyder proposed to Colonel Smith to substitute Poloor, and Conjiveram, respectively 80 and 40 miles from Madras, which he rejected; and another series ensued of fatiguing movements, followed by 22. no consequence. On the 22d, Mr. Andrews agreed to a cessation of arms for twelve days, and proceeded to Madras to report Hyder's ultimatum and receive orders; this interval was employed by Hyder in receiving a pompous deputation from the Council of Pondicherry, in which place the plunder of the country found a ready and convenient sale; but the Government at Madras having refused to accede to the propositions conveyed by Mr. Andrews, notice was

<sup>1</sup> John Andrews arrived in India in 1743, and served in Ganjam as a political officer. He was a member of Pigot's Council in 1759. He was living in Madras in 1790. A curious remark on him occurs in a letter from W. M. Goodlad to Palk in 1768. "Andrews' his appointment is the only thing that vexes me, for I profess a regard for the service, and I cannot think that a man will pay a proper attention to the Company's concerns who was totally lost to any care for his own? and this is the man expressly sent out because it was necessary to strengthen the council with *sober* and *sedate* people! Fie on it: (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 78.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ahtoor*.—Atur, a town about 30 miles east of Salem on the road to Tyaga Drug, a fort about 40 miles east of Atur. Polur, a town in North Arcot district, about 40 miles west of Conjiveram.

given of the cessation of the truce. Hyder without intimating the least desire of prolonging it, took the opportunity of sending a vakeel to Colonel Smith stating his wish to receive an answer to his letter then transmitted to the Governor, before he should make a final determination. He assured Colonel Smith through the vakeel, that he was sincerely desirous of peace with the English; that he had rejected, and should continue to reject, the large pecuniary offers which he had received, for consenting to the mediation of Mahommed Ali; of whose political existence he recognized no trace, but in secret mischief: that his treaty must be directly and exclusively with those with whom he had been at war, and not with a person who would frustrate their mutual desire of amity; and finally he requested, through Colonel Smith, an early reply from the Governor, which should determine his future measures.

Hostilities were resumed on the 6th of March. The country was once more in flames; and as it was known to be Hyder's favourite object, to burn the black town and suburbs of Madras, the garrison was reinforced, and the division of Colonel Lang, now reduced to 300 Europeans, two battalions of sepoy, and the troops of Morari Row, was destined as a moveable corps to cover the Presidency, regulating its operations by the orders of the Governor and Council; while Colonel Smith was master only of the movements of his own corps. On the subject of arrangements so strangely unmilitary, and so destitute of political wisdom, we find it authenticated by the public records, that this corps was placed under the orders of Colonel Smith, on the 16th of March, because Colonel Lang had reported on the preceding day, that he could not move from the spot where the Council had placed him, namely, Conjeveram, *distant 40 miles from Madras*, in consequence of the sudden interposition of Hyder. Colonel

Smith had so skilfully availed himself of the resources of Madras, that his infantry and guns now moved as rapidly as those of Hyder; and being directed by superior skill, he had more than once in the course of manœuvres between Ginjee and Madras, involved the enemy in perplexities, from which the efforts of Hyder's cavalry had relieved him with considerable difficulty. The movement which had alarmed Colonel Lang and the Council, had apparently been forced upon Hyder; and Colonel Smith, knowing Lang's critical situation, was close to Conjeveram, before Hyder could by any possibility have seriously molested him. Confident from experience, that Hyder could have no leisure for serious mischief at Madras before he should overtake him, Colonel Smith pursued the enemy's route, who had doubled to the southward, directing Colonel Lang to follow him, at the interval of a day's march. The risk which Hyder had occasionally incurred, determined him to avoid future dangers of a similar kind; and to make the experiment of working on the fears of his enemies. The movements to which we have adverted, had again brought the armies nearly 140 miles to the southward of Madras; and from thence Hyder sent off the whole body of his infantry, guns and baggage of every description, together with the great mass of his cavalry with orders to retire through the pass of Ahtoor. The whole force which he reserved with himself consisted of 6000 chosen horse; and of infantry precisely *two companies of one hundred men each*, selected from the distinguished corps of Jehân\* Khân and Mân Khân, who themselves commanded these detachments as Hyder's personal night guards. Not one gun, or impediment of any description, accompanied this chosen corps; with which he moved 130 miles in three days and a half; and on the 29th of March appeared with his cavalry within five miles of

March  
29.

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\* This officer has personally related to me all the details of this severe march.

Madras; his companies of infantry not arriving till the succeeding day. He had, since the renewal of hostilities, again written to the Governor, to express his desire for peace; he now sent another letter to announce, that he had come for that express purpose; desired that a person might be sent to negotiate the terms; and in order that nothing might be wanting to the character of perfect dictation, he himself nominated the English envoy; viz. Mr. Du Prè;<sup>1</sup> who proceeded, according to appointment, to attend him at St. Thomas's Mount.

Although nothing can relieve from the character of dictation Hyder's nomination of the English envoy, his real desire for peace may justly be considered as the chief inducement for making choice of a man to treat with, on whose good sense he could confidently rely, when the object of both parties was peace upon fair and equal terms. The natives of India are expert in appreciating character, and Hyder possessed this talent in an eminent degree. It is also to be observed that Mr. Du Prè was nominated to succeed to the government of Madras, and Hyder had an interest in becoming acquainted with the talents and influence of those men whose counsels might affect his destinies.

Two days before the separation of Hyder from his army, Colonel Smith had reinforced the division of Colonel Lang, and sent him in the direction of Tiagar and Trinomalee, with orders to take post at either, if a greatly superior force should appear, and

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<sup>1</sup> Josias Du Prè, son of the Company's secretary of the same name, entered the Madras Civil Service as Factor in 1752 at the advanced age of 31. He served as Secretary and Solicitor to Government, and in 1761 was Tenth of Council and Import Warehouse Keeper. After a period spent in England, during which he married Rebecca, sister of James Alexander of the Civil Service, he returned to Madras in 1768 as Second Member of Council. In January 1770, he succeeded Charles Bouchier as Governor. He resigned in February 1773, and returned to England to reside at Wilton Park, Bucks.

to act on the communications of the enemy, with the passes of Ahtoor and Changama. When apprised of the decision of Hyder, which was correctly reported to him on the very day of its execution, he sent orders to Colonel Lang, to risk an attack on these unwieldy bodies while entangled in the passes; in his narrative he complains that Lang made no attempt to annoy them; but in justice to that officer, we must recollect the fearful insufficiency of his force, for a contest with the main body of Hyder's army, which he must necessarily have risked, by moving under these circumstances to a distance from Tiagar.

March  
31.

Colonel Smith himself, followed Hyder with his usual celerity, and early on the 31st, was met within ten miles of his camp by a mandate from the government, written at Hyder's solicitation, and dispatched on one of his own dromedary couriers, to desire that he would halt wherever that letter should meet him. The objects of Colonel Smith, in this campaign, induced him, on most occasions, to choose the road on which he was not looked for; and the courier, who expected to find him at the distance of 30 miles, had missed him by pursuing the ordinary tract. Hyder, on discovering that Colonel Smith's force had approached so near, frankly declared that no consideration should induce him to remain within twenty-five miles of that army: a fresh order was accordingly dispatched at his request, to desire that it might move beyond that distance, and Colonel Smith

April 1. who received this order on the 1st of April, answered that he would obey it on the ensuing day. Hyder however observing that he did not move on the 1st, jealous of so close a vicinity, and meditating a fresh experiment on the issue of the negotiation, was in  
2. motion to the northward early on the 2d, and the Government, very needlessly alarmed for the black town, dispatched instant directions to Colonel Smith to march to the northward, or direct to Madras, as he might judge most expedient. That officer, who

had uniformly recommended peace, but had never suppressed his indignation at the circumstances of unnecessary and insulting degradation under which his Government were now treating, obeyed the order with alacrity ; but had not moved more than half way to his object before he was met by another order directing him to halt. Hyder had waited to observe the effect of his movement, before he announced it, and on ascertaining the alarm it created, and the consequent movement of Colonel Smith, sent to explain that he had only moved ground for the convenience of forage, to a place about six miles to the northward of the black town. The treaty was in fact concluded on the same evening, and executed by both parties on the following day.

Considerable difficulties occurred in determining who were to be the parties to this treaty. Hyder in the first instance having declined the instrumentality of Mahommed Ali, and he in return having affected to object to be a party to any treaty in which Hyder should be styled a nabob ; it was at length agreed by Mahommed Ali, that the Company should negotiate in their own name, *for their own possessions*, and *for the Carnatic Payen Ghaut* ; and that he should by letter to the Governor, officially signify his consent to this procedure ; a promise which, after the execution of the treaty, he refused to perform.

The motives assigned by Hyder in his first conversation with Captain Brooke, were the true grounds of the genuine moderation observable in this treaty ; which provides for a mutual restitution of places and prisoners, with the single exception of Caroor, an ancient dependency of Mysoor, which had been retained by Mahommed Ali, since the last war, by tacit acquiescence, and was now to be restored to Mysoor. Hyder long contended for the restitution of his ships of war, but receded on the representation that they had probably long since been sold for the benefit of the captors ; and finally consented to

regulate his concessions and demands on the other coast, by a treaty of similar import, to be concluded with the Government of Bombay; and which was executed some time afterwards. The only article of the treaty with Madras, which demands observation, is the second; which stipulates, "that in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other, to drive the enemy out;" the pay of the auxiliaries to be defrayed at fixed rates, by the party demanding assistance. Hyder's first demand, was for an alliance offensive and defensive, which, after much discussion, Mr. Du Prè distinctly refused; and declared, that if persisted in, the negotiation must there cease. Now as it was notorious to all India, and openly avowed by Hyder himself, that his country was periodically invaded by the Mahrattas, it is obvious, and the sequel will abundantly unfold it, that by the article ultimately adjusted, the Company subjected themselves to all the embarrassments of an offensive alliance without any of its advantages: and that Mr. Du Prè had acquiesced in the spirit of an article, to the letter of which he had objected, as fundamentally inadmissible. Historical justice demands this reluctant notice of an error committed by Mr. Du Prè, to whose profound wisdom and distinguished talents, the subsequent narrative will bear a willing testimony.

During the negotiation, Hyder had strenuously demanded the release of the wife and family of Chunda Saheb, and of a long list of Nevayets,\* the descendants and adherents of the former dynasty of nabobs, who were imprisoned or detained in various fortresses by Mahommed Ali. Mr. Du Prè sought to evade this demand, by observing that they were in the custody of a person who was not a party to the treaty; and Hyder so far acquiesced as to expunge the article which related to their liberation; but explicitly declared that he

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\* For an account of this race, see p. 264.

should understand it to be essential to his release of the English prisoners. Mr. Du Prè on the other hand professed that he could only engage for the request being made ; and the subject was not resumed until after the execution of the treaty, when Hyder declared that unless every Nevayet detailed in his list should be permitted to accompany him to Mysoor, not one Englishman should return from thence ; and after much opposition from Mahommed Ali they were actually released. It will be recollected that Hyder's mother was a Nevayet, and the parade of belonging to that respectable family was strengthened by the solicitations of Reza Saheb, the son of Chunda Saheb who was still in Hyder's service : but with the exception of the close prisoners, few of them had reason to rejoice at their change of situation ; their polished manners but ill accorded with the gross habits of Hyder's court ; his notions also of liberal provision fell far short of their decent expectations ; and in the language of one of the sect,\* "they almost all died of hardship, broken hearts, and repentance."

Mr. Du Prè, who negotiated this treaty, (in which we have ventured to suggest a serious misconception,) had lately arrived from England as a member of council, and provisional successor to the government ; and although he found the state of public affairs too unfavourable to admit of being speedily restored by any talents ; we find, from the period of his arrival, a tone of enlightened reasoning to pervade the records of government, which is not so observable in the consultations of the preceding years. A passage in their general letter, dated on the 8th of March, contains the following striking commentary on the imbecility and improvidence of all their previous arrangements regarding Mahommed Ali : "the forces in the field are under the direction of your servants, but the means by which they must

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\* Budr u Zemân Khân.



be supported are principally in the Nabob, (Mahomed Ali,) whose idle vanity, desire of power, and jealousy of control, render all dependance on him precarious : the Company, they observe in a subsequent letter, dated the 17th June, is subject to *all the inconveniences, without any of the advantages of figuring in the character of a great European power.*"

And resuming the subject two years afterwards they judiciously remark, that "in the late war your *servants were, step by step, and by remote causes, drawn into measures by far too extensive for their means, depending on the support of an ally WHO OUGHT NEVER TO BE DEPENDENT ON.*" The liberal assistance derived from Bengal, alone enabled the Company to continue this ill-fated war : Mahommed Ali, as the general letters record, wished them to carry it on with their own resources ; and they, on the other hand, deemed it "unreasonable to exhaust their treasures for the support of countries, and the acquisition of others from whence they were to derive no advantage." But it is the most remarkable feature in the conduct of this remarkable ally, that although during the war he could furnish neither pecuniary resources nor military supplies, yet on the point of concluding it, when Hyder steadily rejected his participation, he then pledged himself to furnish all the expences of the war, and to subsidize the Mahratta army, provided the government would consent to break with Hyder ; fortunately for the public, Mr. Du Prè had, at this time, an ascendancy in the councils of Madras, and on a subsequent occasion found it necessary to remark, that when Mahommed Ali's acknowledged debt to the Company came to be discussed, he had again no money.<sup>1</sup>

On reviewing the conduct of this eventful war, an opinion may be risked that Hyder committed not

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<sup>1</sup> It has been a constant subject of discussion whether the Madras Government were justified in making terms with Hyder outside Madras Robson, writing as a soldier, says : "Had they

one political mistake, and that of his military errors, more ought to be ascribed to his just diffidence in the talents and discipline of his officers and troops, than to any misconception of what might be achieved with better instruments. And of his opponent, Colonel Smith, it may as safely be affirmed, that he cannot be charged with one fault exclusively military; and, although his general views regarding the conduct of the war appear at an early period to have been extremely defective, it may yet be presumed from the confident judgment, which he was provoked to record at the most unprosperous part of the contest, that his diffidence of more decisive measures at an earlier time was exclusively founded on his conviction of the radical and incurable vices of the system of command, as well as of supply, which

(i.e., the Government of Madras) abided by the opinion of General Smith, who was for carrying on the war a little longer, as he well knew, by experience, and the knowledge he possessed of Hyder's affairs, which were then in a desperate situation, so that he could not possibly have remained any time in the Carnatic, and, of course, would have been glad to have accepted of any terms, they might have made a more honourable peace." But this overlooks the fact that owing to the want of cavalry (Colonel Smith had only 68 men as his effective force of cavalry at this time) Hyder could always avoid being caught by Smith's forces. Had the Madras Government put forward terms which Hyder would have refused, he no doubt could not have taken the city, but he would have done much damage to the suburbs of Madras and then moved with his cavalry through the Carnatic, avoiding engagement, ravaging and destroying the country and finding his way back to Mysore by one of the numerous passes through the Baramahal. Miles's remarks (p. 285) on the subject are just. As he pointed out, though the Directors condemned the Madras Government, they did not in any of their letters indicate which of the conditions of the treaty were calculated to produce greater evils than would have resulted from a continuation of the war. The Governor, Charles Bouchier, writing to Palk on the 29th of June, gave his reasons for making the peace; reasons which were sound. "We have at length happily put an end to the enormous expences occasioned by the warr by concluding a peace with Hyder, who, having led Colonel Smith a dance of near a month, had the address, after drawing him as farr as Villaporam,

rendered movements of calculation and concert altogether impracticable. The strange combination of vicious arrangements, corrupt influence, and political incapacity, which directed the general measures of the Government of Madras, have been too constantly traced to demand recapitulation.

Hyder returned at his leisure to Colar, for the purpose of concluding the arrangements consequent on the peace ; and from thence proceeded to Bangalore, where he gave his army some repose. His intelligence from Poona satisfied him that the visit of Mádoo Row was not relinquished but deferred, and he determined to employ the intermediate time in levying such contributions, as should prepare his military chest for the heavy demands which it must sustain in the succeeding year.

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to slip by him, and making a march of no less than 45 miles the first day, got so much ahead of our army that he reached the Mount three days before they got the length of Vendaloor. On his arrival there he wrote to me that he was come so near to make peace with us himself. In the extremities we were reduced to we gladly embraced the opportunity of opening the Conference again ; for the country being entirely at his mercy ; our army being incapable of protecting it or bringing him to a decisive action, and daily diminishing by sickness and fatigue ; the promised succours of horse by the Nabob and Mora Row not arrived, nor likely to be for some months, and our distress for money great ; our whole dependance being on the Nabob, who though he promised largely we had doubts of his performing ; and it being also the Company's positive orders to make peace, we were under the necessity of doing it almost at all events." (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, pp. 105-106). Bouchier in the same letter mentions that the Nawab, Muhammed Ali, owed the Company at this time 12½ lacs of pagodas besides another 14½ lacs the expenses of the war. The Government of Madras were most properly condemned by the Directors for the manner in which the war against Hyder had been conducted ; the Commander-in-Chief had been constantly interfered with, the provision of carriage, ammunition and military stores had been scandalously defective, the want of cavalry showed gross mismanagement. All this was true, but the actual conditions of the treaty were perfectly reasonable and in no way dishonorable.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Hyder, after a short repose at Bangalore, makes a tour, for the purpose of levying contributions to the N. E., N., and N. W.—beaten off from Bellari—Conjectures regarding the secret treaty between Hyder and Nizam Ali—Invasion of Mádoo Row—Hyder retires to Seringapatam—attempts negotiation without success—Observations on Mahratta claims—Reza Ali—the destined Nabob of Arcot—and one of Hyder's envoys—abandons his service, and remains with Mádoo Row—Designs of that Chief—reduces the range of N. E. forts—Resistance at the obscure fort of Nidjgul—which is at length carried—Anecdote of the commandant—Mádoo Row taken ill, returns to Poona—leaving the army under Trim-buc Mama—who takes Goorumconda—and returns to the western part of Mysoor—Destruction of a detachment from Bangalore—Hyder takes the field—position near Savendy Droog—Trim-buc Mama declines to attempt it—moves across his front to the west—Hyder moves to the strong position of Milgota—in which he is invested—attempts a retreat to Seringapatam—drunkenness—savage conduct to his son—his army entirely destroyed at Chercooli—Escape of Hyder—of Tippoo in disguise—Curious appendix, illustrative of the characters of Hyder and Tippoo—Curious surgical incident—Conduct of Fuzzul Oolla Khán—Errors of the Mahrattas—Hyder recovers the panic—ventures on two detachments from Seringapatam—Tippoo to Bednore succeeds—Mahommed Ali to Periapatam compelled to return after a severe conflict, and murdering his*

*own prisoners—Minor operations omitted—Peace of 1772—gives to the English the contact of a Mahratta frontier, in return for their infraction of their last treaty with Hyder—Murder of the pageant Raja—Successor—Horrible exactions—Base ingratitude to Fuzzul Oolla Khán—Rapacity proportioned to insecurity.*

THE secret articles of the treaty between Hyder and Nizam Ali for the joint invasion of Coromandel, provided for the transfer to the former of Kurpa, Kurnool, and other places between the Toombuddra and northern limits of Mysoor, as nominal dependencies, on terms which I have not been able correctly to ascertain ; but probably conditional ; depending on successes which had not been achieved. Hyder however deemed it expedient to substantiate the existence of the right, by its early exercise ; and moved to the north-east, levying contributions on Kurpa, and Kurnool, the territories of the Patan Nabobs ; and Gudwall, the possession of an Hindoo Poligar : thence he inclined westward, for a similar purpose to the Hindoo Poligars of Côticunda,<sup>1</sup> and Cuppethal,<sup>2</sup> and deviated to Gooty, on which he was not yet prepared to execute his intentions ; and therefore received with apparent complacency the amicable advances of Morari Row. The deep and determined animosity of these rival adventurers was veiled by an intercourse of pretended reconciliation, and confirmed by a personal interview, and an interchange of costly presents. From Gooty, Hyder proceeded to Bellâri, a dependency of Adwâni, the jageer of Basâlut Jung, where his demand of contribution being refused, he prepared to enforce it ; and was beaten off with great loss, in an attempt to carry the place by a general assault. This unexpected failure,

<sup>1</sup> Probably Koilkunta in the Kurnool District, Madras.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuppethal*.—Kappahalla, now a small village in Pattikonda Taluq, Kurnool District.

and the pressure of time, disposed him to compromise the reputation of his arms, by accepting the professions of dependency, and *the promise only* of future contribution. This event, however, would seem to throw a faint light on the obscure character of the compact between Hyder and Nizam Ali: the latter chief continued to view with jealousy and apprehension, the means of eventual rivalry which were still possessed by his brother; and secretly to wrest them from him by the hands of another, was perfectly congenial with the character of Nizam Ali.

From Bellari, Hyder moved in nearly a south-western line, securing the contributions from the Poligars dependent on Sera, and assuming a direction apparently intended to oppose the invasion of Madoo Row, beyond his own frontiers, in the province of Savanoor: but the forces of that chief were too superior in number and in quality to admit of open competition in that plain country, and Hyder had once before suffered by the experiment of resisting him in the woods of Bednore. The military talents of Madoo Row were certainly of a high order; and Hyder did homage to those talents, in retiring as he advanced along the skirts of the woods, to the protection of his capital in January 1770. He per-  
severed in the former plan of destroying his own country, without essentially impeding the progress of the enemy; but on this occasion, his own presence enabled him more effectually to enforce the destruction of its resources; and as this would necessarily compel the Mahrattas to preserve a constant communication with their own territory, he left Meer Saheb and Tippoo in the skirts of Bednore, to hang on their rear, intercept their supplies, and cut off their detachments. The charge of the heir apparent, and of the most important division of his army, was thus committed to the person, who not three years before, had betrayed an important trust, and had recently submitted to a forced reconciliation;

but Hyder was a master of human character ; he saw that Meer Saheb disgusted with the Mahratta connexion, had returned with delight to his natural attachments, and took a more than ordinary interest in the future hopes of his nephew ; the whole of his subsequent life evinced the sound penetration of Hyder, which, by reposing confidence, irrevocably fixed the allegiance of this his most valuable adherent.

At a very early period of this contest, and throughout its long continuance, Hyder was incessant in his demands of assistance from the English, for the expulsion of the Mahrattas, in conformity to the second article of the treaty of the preceding year ; but the intricate discussions which occasioned its refusal, will most conveniently be postponed, in order that we may continue without interruption the narrative of Mahratta transactions.

Hyder understood too well the character and forces of the chief by whom he was opposed, to hope for a successful termination of the war by his own unaided efforts, and at an early period deputed Reza Ali Khân (the son of Chunda Saheb) and Apajee Ram, to treat for an adjustment of his demands. Mádoo Row demanded a crore of rupees, on the ground, that Hyder had levied on *his* poligars a large sum of money ; and owed on his own account two years tribute, which was always estimated by Mádoo Row at twelve lacs, for the dominions possessed by Hyder, above and below the ghauts. The former of these demands will be partly explained, by observing that the dependency of the Poligars to the N. W. of Sera, was a contested claim between Hyder and Mádoo Row ; and most of them were now serving with the army of the latter : and both demands will be illustrated by recollecting that the Mahrattas, by the conquest of Vijeyapoor, claimed to succeed to all the rights of that Government ; and among them, to the sovereignty of Mysoor, under the general designa-

tion of Carnatic Vijeyapoor; it should also be invariably remembered, 'that wherever Mahratta claims are concerned, there is always the reserved demand of *choute*, (in itself an assertion of sovereignty, as we shall hereafter explain) and a multitude\* of appended claims, which are either added to other more regular tribute, or substituted for it according to circumstances. Hyder, in answer to these exorbitant demands, observed, that he was a soldier of fortune, and possessed no treasure but his sword; that his territories had been too recently ravaged, and his treasury exhausted, by Mádoo Row himself, to admit the possibility of complying with such unreasonable expectations; but that if twelve lacs would satisfy him for the present, he would endeavour to collect it. Hyder had in 1767 consented to the payment of a large sum, for the purpose of averting a confederated attack on his capital, which would probably have succeeded; but he had too much sagacity and spirit, to comply with demands, which would inevitably encrease, in the exact ratio of his means, while the least hope remained of averting the evil by a manly resistance. The negotiation accordingly failed, and Appajee Ram returned. Reza Ali remaining in the Mahratta camp, under pretext of renewing the conferences; but in fact, with the determined resolution of quitting for ever the service and society of Hyder, which various considerations had rendered offensive to his feelings. In the event of complete success in the late confederacy with Nizam Ali the Nabobship of Arcot was to have been at Hyder's disposal; and he had alternately given confidential hints of encouragement to Mâphuz Khân,

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\* During the Duke of Wellington's campaigns in Decan, he appointed an English collector to the district of Ahmednuggur, and on receiving his report was so good as to point out to me as an object of curiosity, the detail of I think *twenty-five* heads of *predatory assessment*, invariably deducted from the revenue, even in their own territories.



and to Reza Ali; and rumour had carried to other countries an assurance, that the deeds of investiture had been actually executed by Nizam Ali in the name of Tippoo. But it is the opinion of all those who were most intimately acquainted with Hyder's character and habits, that he never would have conferred during his life time, on either of those persons, that or any other authority which he could himself retain. The proposed marriage of Reza Ali with his daughter, was the bond of union by which Hyder persuaded that person, that the dignity was intended for him; and since the peace which terminated the project of sovereignty, that of the matrimonial union had been revived; but now that the connexion was shorn of its political lustre, Reza Ali, who had been reconciled to it by that single consideration, was alive to nothing but disgust at the degradation of the alliance; and having resolved to avert it by flight, availed himself of his present situation, to remain under the protection of Madoo Row; whose proceedings seemed to abandon the ordinary routine of Mahratta plunder, and to point to the fixed conquest of the whole country. Among other arrangements he was accompanied by garrisons regularly organized, and independent of his field force, for the occupation of the principal posts; the woody tract on his right, was passed for the present; but he proceeded to occupy all the posts in the districts of Cuddoor,<sup>1</sup> Banâvar, Hassan, and Beloor, and from thence eastward; passing for the present, Savendydroog and Bangalore, he reduced Nundidroog, the two Bala-poors, Colar, Mulwâgul which he carried by assault and gave no quarter, and nearly the whole range of open country to the eastern boundary. His progress was, however, arrested for a considerable time, by the obscure fort of Nidgegul.<sup>2</sup> The renter of the eastern district, named Narsena, had found it con-

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<sup>1</sup> *Cuddoor*.—Kadur.

<sup>2</sup> *Nidgegul*.—Nijagal, a small village in Bangalore District,

venient to fix his residence at this place; and as it was thus the occasional deposit of treasure, he had been authorized to improve the works, and had rendered it a tolerably respectable fort. After the commencement of the siege, Sirdar Khan, an officer of reputation, had been detached from Bangalore, to throw himself into the place, by a forced night march, and assume the command. His force, including the former garrison, amounted to three thousand men; and he continued for three months to foil the efforts of the Mahratta chief, whose talent did not consist in the science of attacking fortified places. It happened that Narain Row, his brother, was wounded in directing the operations of the siege after an unsuccessful assault; and Mádoo Row, already sufficiently indignant at being detained by this wretched place, ordered it to be instantly stormed, and no man to return at the peril of his life: the assault was nevertheless, again repulsed, and Mádoo Row, in a fit of encreased rage, ordered fresh troops for the storm, and was placing himself at their head, when the Poligar of Chitledroog\* interposed to solicit the post of danger, and requested that Mádoo Row, would, with his own hand, inflict the penalty of his returning from the breach; this chivalrous offer was accepted, and the Poligar placing himself at the head of his brave beders, carried the place on the first of May 1. May, in a style of gallantry, which deservedly fixed the admiration of the whole army. In retaliation for a barbarous custom of Mysoor, to which we have formerly adverted, and which Hyder had lately ordered to be practised on some Mahratta plunderers, Mádoo Row directed the noses and ears of all the

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about 30 miles north-west of Bangalore on the railway line from Bangalore to Tumkur.

\* Named Bedjcutty Berma. This was one of the poligars, whose dependance was contested. Hyder never forgave this memorable instance of attachment to his enemy; and it was the ground of the subsequent destruction of that poligar.

survivors of the garrison of Nidjegul to be cut off on the spot: Sirdar Khān was last led out, and approached with a firm step, and undaunted aspect. Is it not consistent with just retaliation (said Mādoo Row) that you also be thus mutilated and disgraced? The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace your's, replied the Mussulman, and Mādoo Row immediately ordered his unconditional release.

This chief continued his operations, with the success which had hitherto always attended his invasions of Mysoor; but, being taken ill, he was no longer able to direct in person the progress of the campaign; he accordingly retired from the army to Poona, accompanied by his brother, who also required repose in consequence of his wound; and left Trimbuc Row, usually called Trimbuc Mama,\* with the whole army to prosecute the war. His first enterprise was the attack of Goorumconda, commanded by *Seyed Saheb*,† the nephew of *Meer Saheb*, which sustained a siege of two months, and then capitulated, through the intervention and guarantee of Morari Row, (whose recent reconciliation with Hyder, had been followed by an immediate junction with his enemy Mādoo Row) for the personal safety of the commandant; *Seyed Saheb* in consequence of this guarantee retired for the present to accept the hospitalities of Basālūt Jung at Adwāni; and did

\* *Mama*, in the Mahratta language *maternal uncle*, such was his relation to Mādoo Row, and so he always called him; and hence it became a sort of nickname *uncle Trimbuc*. These adjuncts are customary among the Mahrattas, and are not associated with any ideas of levity.

[Trimbak Rao Mama was the maternal uncle of Sadashiv Rao Chimnaji Bhaū.]

† His name was *Meer Moyeen u Deen Khān*. I use the abbreviated appellation for the convenience of the English reader. He was called *Seyed Saheb* to distinguish him from his uncle *Meer Saheb*, whose name was *Meer Aly Reza Khan*—*Seyed* and *Meer* being prefixes equally appropriated to mark the descendants of the prophet.

not return to Seringapatam, till the conclusion of the war. From hence Trimbug Row returned to the west, and was occupied for several months, in possessing himself of Toomcoor, Devaraidroog, and the posts and territories, to the northward of those which had been occupied in the first instance by Madoo Row. Exclusively of the main army at Seringapatam, Hyder had a considerable force at Bangaloor; and detachments were made from each of these places, as opportunity occurred, to beat up the Mahratta quarters, or attempt the recovery of some of the neighbouring places. In the end of January 1771, a strong detachment had been sent by night from Bangaloor, in the expectation of being able to carry great Balipoor (twenty-four miles distant) by surprise: the enterprize, however, not only failed in its object, but the detachment exhausted with fatigue, suffered itself to be surprised in its return, and was entirely cut to pieces by Trimbug Row, who from thence moved to the plain immediately N.W. of Ootradroog.<sup>1</sup> January 1771.

Hyder, whether feeling himself relieved from the superior genius of Madoo Row, or more confident in his strength from having completed the equipments of his army, resolved to make trial of his good fortune and military skill against Trimbug Mama, with a force of 12,000 good horse, 15,000 regular infantry, 10,000 peons, or irregular infantry, armed with match-locks or pikes, and 40 field guns. Of the precise strength of Trimbug Row's army I possess no information, which I can offer to the reader as authentic; and therefore deem it more safe to rely on the general impression of both armies, that his disposable force was nearly double that of Hyder.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Haliyurdurga, a town in Kunigal Taluk, 40 miles south of Tumkur. A fort on a hill near the town is about 3,000 feet above the sea level.

<sup>2</sup> Appa Balvant joined Trimbug after Madhu Rau left for Poona, and after he joined, the Mahratta army, Grant Duff says,

In conformity to the plan which he had formed, Hyder moved in the direct line by Cenapatam,<sup>1</sup> and the strong country between it and Savendy Droog, to assume a position to the north-westward of that impregnable rock, for the purpose of securing his retreat to its protection, in the event of disaster ; and in this situation offered battle to the Mahratta army. Trimbuc Row perceived at the first glance, that no impression could be made on the enemy, while he occupied his present ground ; and resolved to draw him from it, by moving across his front, and appearing to disperse his army, for forage and subsistence, over the whole face of the country to the north-west, which was visible from the top of the rock. Hyder was not deceived by this demonstration, but deeming the reputation of being able to keep the field to be essential to the success of the negotiations in which he was engaged ; he determined to move from one strong position to another, in the hope of at length provoking the Mahrattas to attack him at a disadvantage. The moment that intelligence was conveyed to Trimbuc Mama of Hyder's being in motion to the westward, across the plain country towards Milgota,<sup>2</sup> he collected all his detachments ; but was too late for any operation, excepting an unimportant attack on the rear guard, as it was entering the winding eastern pass of Milgota.

The hills which take their name from this celebrated Hindoo temple, run in a direction nearly N. W. and S. E. extending four or five miles in each direction, from the pass by which Hyder ascended : another pass at right angles with this, west of the

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consisted of nearly 40,000 horse and 10,000 infantry with some guns. (Grant Duff : *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. I, p. 538.)

<sup>1</sup> *Cenapatam*.—Channapatna, about 35 miles north-east of Seringapatam. Savandurga lies about 18 miles north of Channapatna.

<sup>2</sup> *Milgota*.—Melukote, a celebrated sacred town in the Seringapatam Taluq, 20 miles north of Seringapatam, built on the rocky hills named Yadugiri overlooking the Kaveri valley.

principal ridge, and parallel to its general direction, leads to Seringapatam : a rugged table land, overgrown with jungle, extends for about two miles from the summit of these passes, to the westward, overlooking the low country, and descending with an easier slope to the plain. The whole of this elevated position may be considered as nearly inaccessible from the east, and south, excepting through the two narrow and difficult passes which we have noticed ; and the approach from the west, although far from being easy, is the most practicable to an enemy. Hyder's disposition of his force formed nearly a crescent, facing the west, his flanks resting on the portion of the hill which was most inaccessible, and the two passes being in the rear of his left and centre ; a strong but most hazardous position, which in the event of discomfiture, left scarcely the possibility of secure retreat ; inasmuch as one only of the passes could be safely used for this purpose : for if both should be employed, the respective columns would be entirely separated, by an impenetrable range of hills, with the risk of being cut off, before they could re-unite.

A detached hill, which formed the winding of the eastern pass, where the rear-guard had been attacked, overlooked a part of the bason inclosed by Hyder's position ; and this hill, rugged on its western face, had a more practicable slope to the eastern plain. Instead of making their attack from the west, according to Hyder's expectation, the enemy attempted to dislodge him from this position by a teasing daily cannonade from the hill which has been described, conducted in the usual Mahratta style, of withdrawing the guns to camp every evening, and bringing them forward again every morning, about eight o'clock ; but during the intermediate time, rocket men, penetrating in various directions through the woods, near to the skirts of the position, continued, throughout the whole night, to keep the camp

in perpetual agitation. The whole number of guns employed was but ten, of large calibre, which necessarily firing at a considerable elevation, plunged shot into all parts of the camp, from a distance which Hyder's light artillery could not reach. The annoyance was without an interval, and however slovenly, was extremely harassing, and not ill adapted to the single object of driving him from the position, without risking an action, or exposing a point to attack. For eight days Hyder permitted himself to be thus incessantly insulted, without an effort of any kind to retaliate on the enemy, or to relieve his own troops from their discouragement, which the pressure of want began considerably to augment. He at length determined to retreat to Seringapatam, distant about twenty-two miles, by the southern pass, and the route of the hills of Chercoolee,\* on the 5th of March 1771. The troops, with the exception of the outposts and rear guard, moved silently off, about 9 o'clock at night, with Hyder himself at their head. Tippoo was charged with the care of getting the baggage in motion, and the rear-guard was directed to follow at midnight, after beating the *noubut*† at that accustomed hour, as an indication to the enemy, that the head quarters were still there. If no untoward circumstances had occurred, it is probable that Hyder's plan would have been realized, of finishing the greater part of the march before day-light; but when the head of the column of infantry had marched about four miles, had cleared the narrow part of the pass, and was entering on the plain, Narrain Row, the officer commanding the whole regular infantry,

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\* These hills are to the south of the lake of Tonoor.

[Tonnur, 10 miles north-west of Seringapatam. Chinkuruli is the name of a small village south of Tonnur.]

† A stunning discord of enormous kettle drums, and harsh wind instruments, constituting the *band* of state, and the privilege of high rank, which performs throughout the night at the periods of relief.

fancying that he saw or heard the enemy in his front, most inexcusably and not without the just suspicion of treachery, opened a gun, the report of which communicated to the whole Mahratta army, intelligence of the march, and to that of Hyder, already discouraged by a movement which indicated the fears of its leader, the certainty of being overtaken in its retreat. The infantry cleared the pass, and reached the open country, about six miles from the ground of encampment; but the baggage, embarrassed by the woods, and wandering in the dark, made no progress. Hyder had drank\* in the evening to an imprudent excess; and not having relieved the effects by his usual period of sleep, was in a state of stupid inebriety. Repeated messages had been sent, to order Tippoo to the front, but in the confusion of the night, he was not to be found, and none had reached him till the dawn of day; when on his approach, Hyder not only accosted him in a strain of the lowest scurrility, but in a paroxysm of brutal drunken rage, seized a large cane from the hand of one of his attendants, and gave the heir apparent, a most unroyal and literally most unmerciful beating.† Tippoo, as soon as he

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\* Hyder was addicted to drinking, but these excesses were so prudently managed, as to be known to few; the time was soon before his usual hour of retiring to rest, and he slept off the effects. Whether the use of strong liquors at the time of retiring to rest, was intended exclusively as a sensual indulgence, or partly as a soporific, is a question on which his old associates are not agreed. Abbas Ali relates, (on the authority of Gholaum Ali, one of the most familiar of his companions), that he was frequently in Hyder's tent, when after fatigue he would lie down in the day and take a short repose; on one occasion he observed him to start, and be much disturbed in his sleep; and on his waking, he took the liberty to mention what he had observed, and to ask of what he had been dreaming. "My friend," replied Hyder, "the state of a yogee, (religious mendicant,) is more delightful than my envied monarchy; awake they see no conspirators; asleep they dream of no assassins."

† I have conversed with persons who saw his back in a shocking state upwards of a week afterwards.



durst, withdrew from his father's rage, and at the head of his division, dashing on the ground his turban \* and his sword, "my father," said he, "may fight his own battle, for I swear by Alla and his prophet, that I draw no sword to-day:" he kept his oath, and the division was commanded by Yaseen Khân.

The whole infantry in four divisions, had already formed with sufficient laxity, the sides of an enormous square, into which not only the baggage, but the cavalry of the army was received; a mis-application of a good principle of formation, which rendered it the very worst that could well have been devised: and Hyder, instead of assuming the post where his presence was most necessary, went off to the front, giving no other direction than *chellaou, chellaou*, get on—get on—the very watchword of panic, when retreating in the presence of an enemy. This enormous and unwieldy mass continued, however, to move on. The Mahratta cavalry, covered the face of the country in every direction: they had captured, and dragged on one of Hyder's guns, which had been abandoned near the pass, which, together with four or five of their own, opened at a great distance, and plunged shot into the interior of the square; their rocket men had also arrived, and contributed by flights of these missiles, to the general embarrassment. During all this time, no sort of effort was made; no orders were given; and the commandant of every corps was left to his own measures, to keep at a distance the heavy bodies of horse, which hung upon every portion of the square, ready to charge, whenever a favourable opportunity should occur.

The front at length arrived near the hills of Chercoolee, about eleven miles from Seringapatam: the direction of these hills was oblique to the route of

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\* Our fair country-women, who adopt the turban, are not, perhaps, aware that it is exclusively a masculine habiliment. Mahommedan ladies only wear the — pantaloons.

retreat, the high road doubling round the western end of the range, and leaving it on the left: the left face of the square, which ought to have formed a considerable angle with that range, had become nearly parallel to it; and Hyder for some unexplained reason, was now with this division: it is obvious, that the square was now in a position to secure by the most simple change of disposition, the free movement of the baggage round the point of the hill of Chercoolee; but now as in the former part of the march, the army was without any orders. In this situation, a shot struck a tumbril within the square, which exploded, and communicating with some camel-loads of rockets, increased the general confusion. The followers, and those nearest to the left, perceiving themselves to be close to a hill, which here, as in most parts of India, is skirted by a mass of loose angular stones, or rocks inaccessible to cavalry, pressed through the troops of the left face; who suffered themselves, "nothing loth," to be carried away with the crowd, and to ascend the hill: the flight of the left division being seen by the rest of the army, completed the general panic. Under its unreflecting impulse, every one, as if by common consent, began to press through the crowd to gain the hill: orders were no longer heard: the confusion was irretrievable; and the Mahratta horse charged in on the three remaining faces of the square. The rest was a scene of unresisted slaughter; and, happily for Hyder, of promiscuous plunder; with which every one was too much occupied to think of straggling fugitives. Personally he ascended the hill on foot, and by the greatest good fortune, found at the opposite side one of his own led horses, which a faithful and intelligent groom, escaping in the confusion round the point of the hill, had brought thither, foreseeing the point at which his master would attempt his escape. He mounted alone, and set off at full speed for Seringapatam, which he reached without interruption, being joined in his route by a few well-mounted fugitives.

When Tippoo, in the early part of the day, threw down his turban and sword, he also disrobed himself of his outer garments of cloth of gold, tied round his head a colored handkerchief, and, as is customary in the ostentation of disgrace, assumed the guise of one who had renounced the world: he was therefore prepared for the character, which at this critical moment he was advised to assume, of a travelling mendicant, the son of a holy fakeer, attended by his faithful friend, Seyed Mahommed; \* who, after slaughter had ceased, and plunder began, begged his way, as the servant of the young mendicant, through the mass of the spoilers and the spoiled, and conveyed him in safety to Seringapatam on the same night. Hyder, having in the mean while given him up as lost, long continued passionately to exclaim, in terms which indicated more resignation than his manner evinced, "God gave him, and God hath taken him away," himself remaining at a small mosque to the north of the river, and refusing to enter his capital.†

I have gone over the ground which was the scene of all these operations, accompanied by men of observation and intelligence, who witnessed them, in situations of high rank in Hyder's army, in order that I might obtain some distinct notion of a battle, on which the Mahrattas ground so much of their military fame, and which is the subject of general conversation

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\* Afterwards kelledar of Seringapatam, from whom I take this part of the relation. Many narratives state, that he, and some that Hyder, fell for a moment into the hands of Morâri Row, who released his prisoner, on the promise of two lacs of pagados. This tale is pretty generally believed among the Mahrattas, but respecting Tippoo, it is certainly unfounded; and on a comparison of living authorities, I entirely disbelieve it with regard to Hyder also..

† Some curious facts, highly illustrative of the characters, both of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun at this period, which could not with propriety be interwoven with the historical narrative, are thrown into an appendix at the end of the volume.

among Indians of every sect. If the impressions which I have received be correct, and if I have been able to render them intelligible to the reader; he will be prepared to concur in the conclusion which I have formed, that this was no battle\*; and that although the day was lost by Hyder, it was not won by the Mahrattas.

In resisting the ultimate charge of the Mahrattas, there were of course some examples of individual merit, forming honorable exceptions to the general panic. We have incidentally noticed the loss of an eye sustained by Yaseen† Khān, in the command of Tippoo's division. Lalla Meān, whose daughter Tippoo afterwards married, made a most gallant defence, at the head of his corps of infantry, and refused to receive quarter; he was at length taken, after being desperately wounded. In this state, a low Mahratta horseman ridiculed his situation, taunting the prisoner with the particular wounds which he himself had inflicted; and the indignant soldier accelerated his own death by the fury with which he rushed to seize the ruffian. *An English gentleman* ‡ commanded one of the corps, and was most severely wounded, after a desperate resistance: others in the same unhappy situation, met with friends, or persons of the same sect, to procure for

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\* Both Hyder and Mádoo Row describe it in their official letters to the Government of Madras, and of course in very different colours; Hyder as a trifling affair, in which, although he lost some guns, the advantage was on the whole in his favour; and Mádoo Row as a sanguinary action, in which his own army lost 2000 horses killed, and many officers killed and wounded; among the latter Trimbué Row.

† P. 471.

‡ Afterwards known by the appellation of *walking Stuart*.

[A curious character—John Stewart born in 1749, in London, entered the service of the East India Company as a writer; then left it to become interpreter to Hyder: he became a commander in his army; he subsequently was in the service of the Nawab of Arcot, and after leaving his service set out on travels on foot, going through Persia and Arabia, and finally after reaching

them the rude aid offered by Indian surgery; the Englishman was destitute of this poor advantage; his wounds were washed with simple warm water, by an attendant boy, three or four times a day; and under this novel system of surgery, they recovered with a rapidity not exceeded under the best hospital treatment.\* The only person, however, who is known to have conducted himself with successful judgment and entire self-possession, was Fuzzul Oolla Khān, who (as we shall presently have occasion to explain) was in disgrace, and followed the army by order, without exercising any military command.

He was within the square, and near to the western point of the hill, at the period of the general confusion, and being attended by a few friends, whom degradation had not separated from his fortunes, and surrounded by a considerable number of unattached † horsemen, who foresaw defeat, and looked to him as the leader who was to extricate them from disaster; he formed these adherents into a compact body, and cutting through the enemy, retired, in perfect order, by the ford of the river Caveri at Caniambady, only four miles distant, where he crossed, and continued his retreat, without further molestation, along the right bank, to Seringapatam; the Mahrattas being

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England travelled in America and Canada. He was said to have mastered eight languages. He met Wordsworth, the Poet, in Paris in 1792. In 1813, the East India Company gave him \$10,000 in satisfaction of his claims against Muhammad Ali. He died in London in 1822. A paper describing the battle of Chinkuruli by Stewart is among the *Orme Manuscripts* in the India Office, where also is "The life and adventures of the celebrated Walking Stewart, including his travels in the East Indies, Turkey, Germany, and America by a Relative." (India Office Library. Tract No. 22.)

\* Related to me by the late Sir Barry Close.

† There are many such in all Indian armies, under the designation of *Metteferika*; soldiers of family or reputation, serving on superior pay to that of ordinary horsemen, and expectants of command.

intent on more valuable game, than the pursuit of men who had no plunder but their swords.

After the affair of Chercoolee, in which Trimbuc Row received a slight wound, the Mahrattas, more intent on plunder than improving the successes of the day, suffered the unarmed fugitives to reach Seringapatam on the same night, and gave to Hyder the long interval of ten days (in which they were absorbed in the division and disposal of spoil) to collect, arm, and reform a sufficient number of men for the defence of the place, which had been left absolutely without the means of resistance, if the panic of Chercoolee had been followed up by a great and vigorous effort on the capital. At the expiration of that period, Trimbuc Row appeared before the place, and continued, according to his fashion of warfare, to cannonade the fort every day, from the nearest heights, and to withdraw his heavy guns at night. This miserable and ridiculous semblance of what he called a siege, was of service to Hyder alone, by affording to his troops the opportunity of partial encounters with the enemy, and of recovering in some degree from the panic of the late disaster. At the expiration of a month, however, the Mahratta discovered that this notable operation was only restoring the spirits of the enemy; and he divided his army, for the purpose of attacking such forts as were necessary to his purpose, and ravaging the open country, both above and below the mountains. Although the views of Madoo Row extended to the fixed conquest of Mysoor, the semblance of permanent occupation had not restored the ordinary progress of agriculture, nor prevented the necessity of large and incessant convoys from the north; which, after Tippoo had been withdrawn from Bednore, continued to proceed without an escort to the Mahratta camp. Hyder was desirous of again disturbing these communications, but Trimbuc Row continued himself to watch the capital, with a corps

of observation, which rendered small detachments hazardous. Hyder, however, risked two corps ; one under the orders of Mahommed Ali, an experienced officer of infantry, who was directed to attempt the recovery, by surprise, of Periapatam, thirty miles to the west, or if he could not effect this object unobserved, the movement would serve as a feint to draw off Trimbuc Row, and enable the other detachment, under Tippoo,\* with 3000 irregular horse, and five battalions of infantry, to get clear off to the woods of Bednore, to act on the line of the enemy's supplies. The latter branch of the plan was successful, and the detachment, among other services, captured a convoy of one hundred thousand oxen, laden with grain, which they conveyed in safety to Bednore. The detachment of Mahommed Ali, consisting of only four battalions, was overtaken, on the morning after its march, at about twenty miles distance from Seringapatam, and attacked with great energy by Trimbuc Row, with the whole force which he had been able to bring up : Mahommed Ali took post in a ruined village, and made a gallant resistance throughout the day ; at night his preparations seemed to announce the intention of attempting a retreat ; and his numerous wounded, on receiving this intelligence, began to utter the most dreadful lamentations at the fate to which they were destined. In order that the alarm might not by these means be communicated to the enemy, he went round to assure them, that they should not be abandoned to perish by famine. The fearful mental reservation of this assurance referred to a plan of novel barbarity, exceeded only in later times, by an atrocity which has been ascribed to a people calling themselves more civilized. When every thing was ready, he sent

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\* He was on this occasion put under the tuition of *Sree Nawas Row Berkee*, a noted partizan, who, as well as his troops, were better qualified for this description of service than Meer Sahab.

round a certain number of persons properly instructed, who at a concerted signal murdered all the wounded. In the horrible silence which ensued, he commenced his retreat by an unsuspected path, and taking a circuitous route, reached Mysoor by day-light ; a respectable garrison having always been kept at that place, which was too near \* Seringapatam, to be well suited for the operations of a Mahratta siege.

It is not intended to fatigue the reader's attention, by a detail of the minor operations of this desolating war, which offer no illustrations of character: fifteen months had elapsed after the defeat of Chercolee, before Hyder, wearied with a hopeless warfare, and mourning over the destruction of his resources, saw any reasonable prospect of being able to effect a peace. Apajee Ram was again his confidential envoy: Morari Row had engaged to employ his good offices ; and Trimbuc Row had also a secret reason (the dangerous illness of Madoo Row) for listening to these advances : a treaty was accordingly concluded, in the month of June, which stipulated the 1772. payment of thirty lacs of rupees ; one half in hand, and the remainder *hereafter* ; a species of Grecian calends which Hyder well understood : there was however another head of charge, the prompt payment of which could not be evaded: namely, five lacs *for bribes*, chiefly to the civil officers of the Mahratta camp, a demand which custom had so familiarized, that it became a shameless object of open negotiation, under the courtly designation of "durbar expences ;" an example, which, although more cautiously guarded, had not then been totally excluded from English negotiations in India. Of the territory, Hyder was reduced to the necessity of leaving in the possession of the Mahrattas, Goorumconda, Chenroy-droog,<sup>1</sup> Mudgerry, Sera, and even Ooscota,

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\* Nine miles.

<sup>1</sup> *Chenroy-droog*.—Channarayadurga, a conspicuous but deserted hill fort in Tumkur District, Mysore, 3,744 feet above the sea.



and Great Balipoor, and Colar, with their dependencies, reducing his northern\* frontier within narrower limits than those which had been possessed by the Hindoo house of Mysoor at the commencement of the century. And the English had thus acquired by their infraction of the treaty of 1769, in refusing the stipulated succour, the portentous contact of the Mahratta frontier to the province of Arcot, along the whole extent of the ghauts, from the great pass of Damalcherry, to that of Peddanaickdoorgum.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that in 1766, while Hyder was engaged in the war of Malabar, he treated as an affair of ordinary routine the death of the pageant Raja, and the mock elevation of a successor (Nunjeraj Wadeyar) who had been farther restricted in his confinement, in consequence of having testified some impatience. During the low state of Hyder's fortunes in the preceding year, this youth, then 23 years of

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\* See the smaller map illustrative of the limits of Mysoor in 1704.

<sup>1</sup> The Madras Government were placed in great difficulties by the treaty of 1769. In the second article of that treaty it was agreed: "That in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out." In 1770 when Hyder solicited assistance, the Madras Government decided upon neutrality. In July 1770, Sir John Lindsay arrived in Madras, sent out by the Ministry in London, as Plenipotentiary at the court of the Nawab of Walajah, Muhammad Ali, with power to treat with other native rulers. Muhammad Ali was for two reasons very anxious that the English should support the Mahrattas; he hated Hyder Ali, and the Mahrattas promised him territory in case they were successful. Sir John Lindsay supported Muhammad Ali. Du Prè, then Governor, with his Council, resisted the pretensions of Sir John Lindsay to the limits of their power. He writes on 4th October 1770 to Robert Palk: "We have also been drawn into a correspondence with Sir John Lindsay, by which I suppose we shall draw on ourselves the vengeance of the Ministry who sent him out. These are dangerous times, and I wish I was well out of them. What is doing between Sir John and the Nabab, I can't say, but I believe no good to the Company or their servants now and for years past. We are no more

age, had made the vain attempt of opening a communication with Trimbuc Row; and Hyder, deeming him to be no longer a safe pageant, ordered him without hesitation to be strangled in the bath; and his brother *Cham Raj* to be registered as the successor to this perilous distinction.

After the peace with the Mahrattas, Hyder resided for some time at Seringapatam. His finances had suffered severely; but he seldom failed in devising extraordinary means to meet extraordinary occasions: many still remained of those who had held offices of trust under the antient Rajas; and had amassed considerable wealth; the exterior appearance of disregard during a period of twelve years, had rendered them incautious; and Hyder had taken secret means, to ascertain with precision their actual funds, as a resource in the day of exigency. The torture was applied in cases of doubt, and a large

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what we were. We have neither controul nor influence over the Nabob. People at home think him full of virtue and honor. Good God! that a man so devoid of both should by deceit have acquired such a character! . . . . The Government send Sir John Lindsay to threaten and awe us, to wrest all our actions into crimes and to support the Nabob (perverse enough before) against all our measures; and then, if misfortunes happen, we must bear the whole. I tell you, my friend, the Company's affairs never were in so dangerous a way. We are surrounded with enemys, and the most dangerous are neither Hyder, the Morattas, the Soubah or the French. . . . 'Tis a great comfort in my distress to have such a man as Mr. Hastings—we are upon the best of terms, and he supports me cordially." (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, pp. 137-38.) Probably as Mill thought, the Madras Government would have supported Hyder in fulfilment of the treaty, had not the opposition of the Nawab, Muhammad Ali, supported as he was by Sir John Lindsay and his successor, Sir Robert Harland, made this course impossible. William Marlin Goodlad, who was Secretary in the Civil Department of the Madras Government, and had no doubt fairly accurate information as to what was going on, wrote on February 28th, 1772, (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 177) to Palk: "I have been so particular before in describing to you the cause we had to apprehend a Maratta invasion—the

sum was realized by these means. His old benefactor Nunjeraj was privately compelled to contribute his full proportion ; and the death of that person in the succeeding year, relieved him from the last of his antient rivals. Among the cases which contributed to replenish his coffers on this occasion, one exhibits too striking a picture of the general character of Asiatic courts to be blended with the general mass.

Fuzzul Oolla Khân (Hybut Jung) entered as we have seen into Hyder's service, or rather became his associate,\* at the lowest ebb of his fortune, when he had fled from Seringapatam to Bangalore: this officer had stipulated for the singular distinction of sitting on the same musnud, and having two honorary

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warmth of the Nabob's solicitations to join them in reducing Hyder ; our desire rather to assist Hyder if a part must be taken ; and the repeated entreaties of both that we should take part in their disputes—that a repetition is here unnecessary. Matters have lately become much more serious, but, greatly to the honor of Du Pré, we have hitherto surmounted all difficulties. . . . The Marattas were on our borders and had even committed hostilities, though they denied the intention of so doing. The Nabob used every argument to bring us over to their party. . . . The Minister backed his representations, . . . but the Council still continued firm. . . . The Nabob and Minister both found they had struggled in vain ; and as the Marattas had been fed with hopes of our assistance, it became necessary to recompense them for their disappointment." The Nabob gave the Mahrattas money, to bring about a cessation of hostilities until the pleasure of the English King should be known. The whole episode is interesting as indicating the mischief done by interference from England, by Ministers ignorant of local conditions. The result was that Hyder felt he had been deserted, that the Madras Government were unable to carry out any well thought out policy, and were open to the charge of having failed to keep their promise. It is true that the double government of the Madras Council and the Nawab made a vicious combination, but Du Pré and Hastings, had they not been thwarted by the Minister sent out from England, might have proved equal to the occasion. As it was, they could not carry out any determined policy.

\* See p. 472 for the terms ; and for the ludicrous circumstances which led to his title of Hybut Jung, p. 492.

attendants standing behind him, with fans composed of the downy feathers of the humma. No individual contributed so largely as Fuzzul Oolla to the subsequent aggrandisement of Hyder, by his military talents, and by a genuine zeal for the cause in which he was engaged. By the friends, and what was a higher testimony, by the enemies of Hyder, Fuzzul Oolla was esteemed the first officer in his service ; and continued to be treated with the accustomed honours, until the arrival of the Nevayets from Draurveda. These persons, envious of the state which he assumed, compared his ancestry with their own ; represented the indecorum of treating the son of Chunda Saheb with inferior distinction ; hinted at the new arrangements of etiquette and consequent new relations, which ought to result from Hyder's rank and title of nabob ; and at length prevailed on him to send a message to Fuzzul Oolla, intimating that he must discontinue these privileges. The following reply has been repeated to me by many concurring authorities. "The morechal," (fan) said Fuzzul Oolla "is no more than a handful of useless feathers, but it has been the constant associate of my head, and they shall not be separated : he who takes one shall have both ; in the pride of my youth I stipulated for one of the side pillows of the musnud ; and I have not disgraced the distinction. Instead of depriving me of that one, it would have been more gracious, as well as more necessary, to prop up my age and infirmities by a second. There is a simple mode of obeying the mandate—I will never again enter a court where ancient benefits are forgotten." Fuzzul Oolla had his house in the fort, in which his family always dwelt ; but his tents, when at Seringapatam, were at all times pitched on the esplanade, and there he himself usually preferred to reside ; there he received the order ; and although he lived four or five years afterwards, he never after that period entered a house. On the present occasion,

Hyder sent to demand from him eight lacs of pagodas. The requisition was not unexpected ; and Fuzzul Oolla gave the messenger an order to his sister, who presided over his family in the fort, to give up, without reservation, every rupee he possessed. How much was realized, I have not been able to ascertain ; but even the Nevayets were satisfied that he retained nothing. During the remainder of his miserable life, he subsisted by selling the few articles of camp equipage, horses and household furniture, which were not swept off in the general plunder. He died in a wretched pal, or private tent, a patched remnant of his former splendour ! An humble tomb, erected by the pious care of his family, marks the precise spot on which he received the order of degradation ; and where, according to his solemn injunctions, they received his last breath, and deposited his earthly remains.

These hideous examples of ingratitude and oppression, are abundantly efficient to the extinction of probity, but not of avarice. The object of human pursuit is always a supposed good ; and where probity fails to command distinction and reward, the reputation of that virtue will rarely be classed among the objects of attainment : wealth abstractedly considered, would seem to be no longer valuable than while it may be freely enjoyed ; where courtiers therefore are sure to be plundered, as soon as they are sufficiently rich, wealth would at first view appear to be no longer of rational estimation : but on a closer scrutiny, the sole chance of saving a little is to bribe with much ; wealth therefore becomes necessary, in proportion to the vices of the government, and men become rapacious in the exact measure of the insecurity of their possessions. The general notoriety of the flagitious occurrence which has been stated, did not prevent Hyder from exciting fresh hope in the rising generation, or from ostentatiously rewarding such of his military officers as had distinguished

themselves in the late harrassing service ; and he sent emissaries into Decan, to make fresh levies of the better classes of horsemen, whether Mussulman—Rajpoot—or Mahratta.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

*Death of Mádoo Row—Conjuncture favourable to Hyder—Invasion of Coorg—Decapitation—Conquest—Detachment descends to Calicut—Rapid restoration of authority in Malabar—Tippoo's operations to the north—entirely successful—recovers all he had lost by the Mahratta treaty—Ragoba moves against him—met by a negotiator, who succeeds in consequence of unexpected events at Poona—Treaty with Ragoba—Insurrection in Coorg—quelled by a movement of his whole army—Death of the pageant Cham Raj—Ridiculous ceremony of choosing a successor—Embassy to Kurreem Khan—Obtains a corps of Persians—His opinion of the specimen—Their extinction—Rapid march to Bellári—Its causes and result—Defeats Nizam Ali's besieging army—and takes the place for himself—Goes against Gooty—Siege—Obstinate defence of Mordri Row—Treaty—broken off by the imprudent disclosures of the negotiator—Unconditional surrender—plunder—Fate of Mordri Row—Ragoba, a fugitive from the Mahratta territory, concludes a treaty with Bombay, 1775—annulled by the Government of Bengal—who conclude a new Treaty through Colonel Upton, 1776.—Remarks—Renewed treaty with Ragoba, in 1778.—In consequence of the first, Ragoba invites Hyder to advance, and in 1776, he invades Savanoor—occupies one half—interrupted by the monsoon—returns to Seringapatam—Fiscal measures.*

**M**ADOO ROW died on the 18th of November, 1772, his brother and successor, Narain Row, was

killed on the 30th of August, 1773,<sup>1</sup> and succeeded by his uncle Ragonaut Row, or Ragoba, who afterwards made so distinguished a figure in the English transactions at Bombay.

There was more in this conjuncture than the mere invitation of fatalism to try a new scene. The keen perception of Hyder penetrated the sources of internal discord, which were generated by this event; and the whole of his leisure, since the conclusion of the war, had been devoted to preparation for whatever event the page of fate\* should unfold. The pretended arrangements for paying the balance due under the treaty, were no longer even ostensibly continued; and he put forth his whole force at once for the recovery of all the territory which he had lost, in consequence of the English and the Mahratta wars. Among his first arrangements was an embassy to Madras, which will be most conveniently discussed hereafter. Tippoo was detached in September to the northward, for the recovery of the places recently ceded to the Mahrattas; and Hyder assumed in person the direction of operations preparatory to the recovery of Malabar.

His former communications with that territory were by two long and circuitous routes, passing through his own dominions, in the lower countries, into the northern extremity from Canara, and near to the southern from Coimbetoor. The great road to Canara crosses the hills of Bullum, south of Bednore; and to the left of this route the separate principality of Coorg, and the province of Wynaad, form the continuation down to the borders of

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<sup>1</sup> Narayan Rao was 18 years of age, when he was murdered in his palace at Poona, by the adherents of Raghunath Rao.

\* His own words, as stated to me by several of his associates: "We will open the book of fate, and see what is written there;" alluding to the practice of opening the Korân, or frequently the poems of *Hâfiz* for a *fal*, or omen, in the manner of the *sortes Virgilianæ* of the Romans.



Coimbetoor, of a narrow stripe of woody mountainous country, of the same climate and character as Bednore, interposed between Mysoor and Malabar.

For the purpose of direct communication, and permanent conquest, it was necessary to possess this interjacent country ; and Hyder accordingly entered Coorg in November 1773. The invasion was entirely unexpected ; and the chief body of the Coorgs, without any previous arrangement, assembled on a woody hill, which Hyder encompassed with his troops. In imitation of the northern hordes, whose manners the Mahommedans of India affect to imitate, he proclaimed a reward of five rupees for each head which should be brought before him, and sat down in state, to superintend the distribution of the reward. About seven hundred had been paid for, when a *peon* approached, and deposited two heads, both of them of the finest forms ; Hyder, after scrutinizing the features, asked him, whether he felt no\* compunction in cutting off such comely heads ; and immediately ordered the decapitation to cease, and prisoners to be brought in. From whatever motive the order may have been derived, it is the only feature in his whole life that incurs the direct suspicion of pity. The apparent conquest was of little difficulty ; the Raja (Divaia) betook himself to flight ; and Hyder, whose chief object was to tranquillize the country, erected the fort of Mercara in the most central situation ; and, confirming the landholders in their possessions at a moderately increased revenue, returned to Seringapatam, whither the fugitive Raja was soon afterwards brought, having been discovered in his place of concealment in the territory of Mysoor.<sup>1</sup>

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\* Literally, *did not your heart burn within you ?*

↓ <sup>1</sup> Coorg, now a province administered by a Chief Commissioner, who is also the Resident in Mysore. ↘ It is 1,583 square miles in extent with about 180,000 population. It is covered with hills and deep valleys, of great beauty. The Coorgs, who are Dravidians, form one of the finest races in India. The State was

A force was immediately afterwards detached under Seyed Sâheb, and Sreenowas Row Berkee, through 'Wynaad, by the pass of Tambercherry'<sup>1</sup>; which descended at once on Calicut. The place soon fell into their hands: the Nair chiefs, who, during their short relief from foreign usurpation, had only encreased their misery, by intestine broils, were in a fit state to be acted on, by the skilful application of political division; and in a short time, the greater part of them arranged the terms of their future dependency on Hyder. Sree Nowas Row was accordingly

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annexed in 1834, owing to the misgovernment and cruelty of the last Raja. The Coorgs have been specially loyal to the British Government, and were specially exempted from the Disarming Act in 1857. Mercara, the capital town, has 6,000 inhabitants. It is situated on a plateau about 3,809 feet above the sea. The palace was built in 1812, a substantial castellated building. The rainfall is on an average 139'8 inches in the year, which mostly falls in the months of June, July and August. The following extract is from Bowring's *Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan, Rulers of India*, 1893: "Coorg, or Kodagu, is a most picturesque alpine region, heavily wooded, and bounded on the west by the great chain of Ghats which look down upon Malabar. It is inhabited by a sturdy and warlike race, the headmen living each on his own farm homestead, surrounded by the dwellings of his kinsmen, and his agrestic labourers, who were formerly serfs. By religion the Coorg Rajas were Lingayats, and the word Brahman stank in their nostrils. The mass of the people worshipped the sylvan deities, to whom many of the finest forests in the country were dedicated. The Coorgs appear to have maintained their independence, only acknowledging the jurisdiction of their own local chiefs, till the early part of the seventeenth century, when a scion of the Ikkeri house, previously mentioned, settled in the country as a devotee, and gradually obtained an ascendancy over the people, who made him yearly offerings, and consented to guard his person by sending relays of watchmen. In the course of a few years, he felt himself sufficiently strong to declare himself ruler of Haleri and the surrounding districts; and somewhat later all the headmen acknowledged him as their chief, agreeing to pay him one-quarter of their rentals." (Bowring: *Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan*, pp. 64-65.)

<sup>1</sup> *Tambercherry*.—Tamarassheri Pass, now a good road, leads from Manantoddy and Mysore through the Wynaad to Calicut, over the Western Ghats.

left as foudar (military governor) of the province, and Seyed Sâheb returned with the cavalry and disposable troops to Seringapatam.

This important acquisition having been achieved with a success more rapid than even Hyder had anticipated, he moved with his whole force, to give efficiency to his son's operations in the north : his approach had its due effect ; and before his junction, Tippoo had reduced Sera, Mudgery, Chenroydroog, Goorumconda, and their dependencies, leaving nothing for Hyder in person to accomplish, but the easy service of reducing Ooscota, and Great Balipoor. Thus, in one short campaign, from September 1773 till February 1774, he not only completely reconquered every place that had been wrested from him by the Mahrattas, but recovered, with encreased stability, the province of Malabar, which he had wisely abandoned, during the pressure of difficulties in his former war with the English.

An intercourse of civility had long subsisted between Hyder and Ragoba ; it was through his mediation that the\* peace of Bednore had been effected in 1765 ; and since that period, Hyder's envoys at Poona had been directed to conciliate his good offices in the customary Mahratta form. On succeeding to power, he had been early in the field against Nizam Ali ; and although unsuccessful<sup>1</sup> in an action with the chief, he terminated a short campaign by an advantageous peace ; and was drawn to the south by the hostilities of Hyder ; who was far from expecting so prompt a visit ; and prepared to break the fury of the storm, by an early negotiation. His mission, headed by Apajee Ram, met Ragoba in full march to the south, at Calliandroog,<sup>2</sup> to the south-east of

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\* Vide p. 523.

<sup>1</sup> Raghunath Rao was not unsuccessful. (Grant Duff : *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 10.)

<sup>2</sup> *Calliandroog*.—Kalyandrug, 42 miles S.S.E. from Bellary in Anantapur District, a fortified hill above the town.

Raidroog, on the exact day, when by a singular coincidence, he received information of the confederacy at Poona, which had openly announced their determination to depose him. The conferences had not commenced, when considerable corps of the army had begun to withdraw under their respective chiefs, to join the opposite party. Apajee Ram was too acute a negotiator to overlook the opportunity which was thus presented, of improving the political relations of his master ; he saw that the aid which Ragonaut Row would require, and his master could confer, formed the most solid basis of conciliation ; he fairly and openly explained the reciprocal interests, which would be promoted by their union, and a treaty was concluded, by which Hyder acknowledged Ragoba as the exclusive head of the Mahratta state, and agreed to pay him, and him only, the reduced tribute of six lacs of rupees ; on the condition, that he should be ready when required, to act with his whole force in support of Ragoba's pretensions. That chief was under the necessity of moving with haste to the northward ; and Bájee Row Burva, his relation, was sent in consequence to Seringapatam, to receive and remit the first six lacs. In the mean while, however, the affairs of Ragoba became so desperate, as to oblige him to fly to Malwa, and Bájee Row Burva remained for several years, as his confidential agent, under the protection of Hyder.

An insurrection in Coorg of the most determined aspect suspended for a time the designs of Hyder in other directions. Compared with the revenue in his old territories, that which had been arranged for Coorg was extremely low ; but their standard of comparison was not what had been exacted from others, but what themselves had formerly paid : the very highest rate of assessment in Coorg had been a tenth of the produce : in general it was much lower ; and a considerable proportion of the landholders, exclusively of military service, paid an acknowledged-

ment to the Raja, which was merely nominal. Hyder deemed his own moderation to be excessive, in requiring not much more than the old Hindoo assessment of one sixth. The impatience of the inhabitants, at a detested foreign yoke, inflamed their discontent; for although Hyder trusted no Mussulman in his department of revenue, the Bramins whom he employed were held in still greater abhorrence\* and contempt by the natives of Coorg. They destroyed all the minor establishments, which had been spread over the country for the collection of revenue; and surrounded the new capital<sup>1</sup> of Mercara, for the purpose of reducing it by famine: the insurrection in short was universal; and Hyder was never in the habit of employing palliatives. The great mass of the army was at the capital, distant only 30 miles from the frontier of Coorg; and he moved the whole infantry in several columns to penetrate at once into every portion of the territory, and suppress the rebellion at a single blow; the operation was successful, and as his intelligence was always excellent, he was enabled among his prisoners to distinguish the leaders; every man suspected as being above the class of an ordinary soldier was hanged; and for the purpose of overawing the natives, a series of block houses was erected, pervading every part of the country, and connected with each other, and with the nearest posts in Mysoor. These arrangements being completed, he returned to give his army a short repose at Seringapatam, about the beginning of the year 1775.

1775. About this period, the pageant Raja Cham Raj died; Hyder had hitherto professed to hold Mysoor in behalf of the Hindoo house; and amused his

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\* For their religious tenets, *vis.* Jungum, see Appendix No. 4.

<sup>1</sup> The original seat of the Rajas of Coorg was at Haleri. In 1681, Mercara was made the capital. The fort was built by Hyder in 1773.

subjects on every annual feast of the Dessera,\* by exhibiting the pageant, seated on his ivory throne, in the balcony of state; himself occupying the place of minister and commander in chief. This ceremonial, in most countries, would have excited feelings dangerous to the usurper; but the unhappy Hindoos saw their country every where sustaining the scourge of Mahommedan rule; the singular exception of the Mahratta state, a wide spreading example of still more ruthless oppression, restrained their natural preference for rulers of their own persuasion; and they were soothed with the occasional condescension, which treated them, and their institutions, with a semblance of respect. Hyder saw and indulged the working of these reflections, and determined to have another pageant. The lineal male succession was extinct, and he ordered all the children to be collected from the different branches† of the house, who, according to ancient precedent, were entitled to furnish a successor to the throne. The ceremonial observed on this occasion, however childish, was in perfect accordance with the feelings which he intended to delude, and sufficiently adapted to the superstition of the fatalist. The hall of audience was strewed round, with fruits, sweetmeats, and flowers, playthings of various descriptions, arms, books, male and female ornaments, bags of money, and every varied object of puerile or manly pursuit; the children were introduced together, and were all invited to help themselves to whatever they liked best; the greater number were quickly engaged in a scramble, for the fruits, sweetmeats, and toys; but one child was attracted by a brilliant little dagger, which he took up in his right hand, and soon afterwards a lime in his left. "That is the Raja" exclaimed Hyder, "his first care is military protection; his second to realize the produce of his

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\* For an account of this festival, see p. 61.

† See preface, p. xxiv.

“dominions; bring him hither, and let me embrace him :” the assembly was in an universal murmur of applause; and he ordered the child to be conducted to the Hindoo palace, and prepared for installation.\* He was of the same name as his predecessor, viz. *Cham Raj*, and was the father of the present Raja, who was placed by the English at the head of the Hindoo house of Mysoor, on the subversion of the Mahommedan dynasty in 1799.

The Mahommedans of India, throughout every succession of shade from fair to black, universally derive their descent from the Arabian, the Persian, or the Mogul race;† and a claim of superiority is asserted, and pretty generally allowed, in proportion to their near approach to the parent stock; Hyder was desirous of improving the composition of his army, by the admixture and example of a body of Persian horse; and for this purpose sent *Shah Noor Oolla*, the son of a native of Persia, on an embassy to that country; he was received with distinction by Kurreem Khan at Shiraz; and permitted to raise recruits for the service of his master. One thousand men, accompanied him in his return: horses, the property of the state, were assigned to these cavaliers,

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\* There was then in existence, and is now living, a grandson of the Raja Chick Kishen Raj, (from whom Hyder had usurped the government,) by a daughter of his first wife, the daughter of Nunjeraj. The descendants of Nunjeraj assert the right of succession in favour of this descendant of a female branch, contrary to the rule of Hindoo succession. And many tales have been related regarding the surviving dowager, (vide p. 418,) having interposed in favour of this succession. I have conversed with her on the subject, and she distinctly stated, that from the period of her husband's death, she never had the opportunity or the privilege of remonstrating on that or any other subject, and never did attempt or wish to interfere, in favour of that rival branch, or any other; for she is also stated in these tales to have proposed a relation of her own.

† The Afghan, or Patan, is not an exception; his origin is questionable; but as a Mussulman, he ranks in estimation after them all, being considered a borderer, or half Hindoo.

and Hyder was so well pleased with their conduct in the first essay, that he sent a second embassy, with considerable funds, to procure a farther levy: ship, ambassador, and treasure, were however lost in the gulf of Kutch, and Hyder did not renew the experiment. On farther acquaintance, he stigmatized the bravery of the Persians, as a sort of courtly virtue, possessing more of stage trick, and interested pretence, than of genuine military daring; making a shew of gallantry, for the direct purpose of demanding an increase of pay; vainglorious, discontented, and unmanageable. He was, however, gradually relieved from their importunities; for though he would not permit their return, the climate successively thinned their ranks; and I have not been able to trace one survivor of this thousand men.

While preparing for a campaign of some importance, Hyder, in November, received an express from the Hindoo chief of Bellari, the equivocal dependant of Basalut Jung, who, as we have seen, after repelling Hyder in 1769, pledged the transfer of his allegiance to him, and made that transaction the excuse for refusing tribute to his former lord. The express informed him that Bojeraj, the minister of Basalut Jung, accompanied by the French corps of Monsieur Lally, in the service of that chief, had actually besieged the place; and as the event was unexpected, nothing but the speedy aid of Hyder could prevent the place from falling into their hands. Hyder retained in his service a large corps of Bramin *mutteseddies*, accountants of revenue, as the name implies, but destined, under his direction, to perform the most profligate offices of the most crooked diplomacy. Whenever an adjacent country was to be conquered, a detachment from this corps insinuated themselves into the confidence of one of the two parties, into which every country, free, or despotic, is found to be divided; and by false representations, fomented intestine division, which usually terminated



inan application to Hyder to support the declining party, against some domestic danger, or foreign oppression. The infamy of this body of men has become proverbial in the south of India, and has not been much exceeded in the revolutionary history of modern Europe. Subsequently to Hyder's former repulse from Bellari, these emissaries had succeeded in deluding the poligar into the hope of rendering himself independent of Baslut Jung, and in the moment of peril, into the fatal error of applying to Hyder for relief. On the instant of receiving the express which we have noticed, he issued the order of march; the distance on the map is nearly three degrees of latitude,<sup>1</sup> which was performed in five days: a considerable number of his men died of fatigue; and of those who marched from Seringapatam, not one half were up to share in the first attack; such, if I have been correctly informed, was the nature of the forced marches, by which the modern French have so often anticipated their enemies. To attack any troops on such a march, is to destroy them; but while Hyder was still supposed to be at his capital, he fell by surprise on the rear of the besieging army. It was a complete rout, in which Bojeraj was killed, and Monsieur Lally escaped with difficulty. The guns were left in the batteries; the approaches and parallels were complete; and Hyder, without giving time for the entrance of supply, announced the object of this timely succour, by instantly manning the batteries, assuming the place of the late besiegers, and insisting on unconditional surrender. The unfortunate chief had already revealed the state of his resources for a siege: farther resistance was unavailing; and Hyder's garrison was introduced into the place on the 8th day after his march from Seringapatam. In the mean while, he had not neglected to avail himself of the panic, by sending a

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<sup>1</sup> From Seringapatam to Bellary is a distance of about 210 miles.

light corps in pursuit of the fugitives; and Basalut Jung had reason to acknowledge his moderation, in accepting a *lac of pagodas*, as the condition of abstaining from the plunder or attack of the remainder of his jagheer.

Hyder affected a disposition to compromise in the same manner with Morari Row, by sending to demand a similar contribution from him, which he probably foresaw would be refused. The intercourse was in imitation of the Mahratta style; and it may furnish amusement to some of my readers, to observe how the ceremonial of plunder is clothed in the garb of hospitality. On entering the territory of Gooty, Hyder sent a complimentary message to Morari Row, to announce that he was arrived at his house, (country) that they were ancient friends, and that he would be troublesome to him for grain and forage for his horses; the value of which he estimated at a lac of rupees. Morari Row understood the Mahratta *jargon*, and replied in plain terms that he also was a *Cena putti*\* (General), and was in the habit of levying, not paying contributions. On Hyder's nearer approach to Gooty, he repeated a message of similar import, with the same result. He therefore sat down regularly before the place; the guns which Monsieur Lally had employed against Bellari, were a convenient resource; and a battering train for this very purpose had also been ordered from Seringapatam. The fort of Gooty is composed of a number of strong works, occupying the summits of a circular cluster of rocky hills connected with each other, and enclosing a space of level ground forming the site of the town; which is approached from the plain, by two breaks or openings, forming fortified gateways to the south-west and north-west, and by two foot-paths across the lower hills communicating through small sally-ports. An

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\* Lord, or husband of an army.

immense smooth rock rising from the northern limit of the circle, and fortified by gradations, surmounted through fourteen gateways, overlooks, and commands the whole of the other works, and forms a citadel which famine or treachery can alone reduce. After a siege of about five weeks, the town and lower forts were carried by assault; and a large booty was found, consisting of two thousand horses, a considerable number of the elephants of state, a vast amount of private property, and a very respectable equipment of garrison and field guns, and military stores.

Hyder continued for two months longer the siege of the upper fort; and was repulsed in numerous attempts to establish himself in the lowest division of these works; but the improvident measure had been adopted of admitting within the walls of the citadel, an immense number of followers, of horses, camels, and even horned cattle: and although, with ordinary precautions, the reservoirs of water were numerous and ample the strange absurdity of the measure which we have noticed, had reduced the besieged to the utmost distress, and Morari Row found himself under the necessity of sending an envoy to Hyder to treat for peace. The conditions were settled after much discussion; namely, the payment of twelve lacs of rupees; eight in cash or valuables, and a hostage for the payment of the remainder. The cash amounted to only one lac, and plate and jewels to the estimated value of the remaining seven were sent by the hands of the hostage, the son of Yoonas Khān, the former commander-in-chief, who had been mortally wounded in the affair near Ooscota, in 1768.

Hyder received his hostage with great courtesy, and invited him to dinner; the young man, considering hostilities to be at an end, was induced by the gracious manners of Hyder to be unreserved in his communications; the conversation was purposely turned to the events of the siege, and Hyder took the

opportunity of paying some appropriate compliments to the experience of Morari Row, and the conduct of his troops; not omitting to observe, that he frequently noticed the exemplary gallantry of the young man himself. This of course induced some corresponding civilities; and in the warmth of discussing the past, he was so imprudent as to observe, that there was no want of troops or provisions, and nothing short of being reduced to three days water could have induced Morari Row to agree to such hard conditions. Hyder heard all this with his accustomed command of countenance; and after dinner referred the young man to the proper department, for the delivery of his charge. The description of the valuables had been generally stated in the negotiation, and it was understood, that if on a fair valuation the amount should fall short of the seven lacs, Hyder would still receive it, and accept the hostage for the remainder. The period of inspection was designedly prolonged; the appraisers on Hyder's part were duly instructed, he himself testified great impatience for the adjustment, and when the appraisers accompanying the hostage, returned to report the total amount, including cash, to be only five lacs, Hyder affected the greatest disappointment and anger, said that Morari Row was trifling and deceiving him; and ordered the hostage immediately to return with his paltry five lacs, and announce the negotiation to be at an end.

He now fitted his operations to the circumstances of the siege, taking more care to prevent a single person from descending to hollows in the rock, which they had been accustomed to risk, for a scanty supply of water, than to serve his batteries, or expedite his approaches; and the besieged could not even execute the alternative which he had proposed, of prolonging his defence, by secretly dismissing the greater part of his garrison.

On the third day after this mode of warfare had been adopted, Morari Row could no longer restrain

his men from exclaiming, even from the parapets, to the besiegers, that they were dying of thirst, and begged to capitulate. Hyder coolly directed them to be informed, that there was abundance of water below; and if they desired to quench their thirst, they must all descend unarmed, with Morari Row at their head: that he would fire at any flag of truce, and reject all advances, except in the form which he had prescribed. In the course of the day, Morari Row accompanied by his son, and followed by his unarmed garrison, descended and threw himself on Hyder's clemency. Every individual, before being passed, was separately searched, and plundered for Hyder's sole benefit, of the trifling sum they possessed. His garrison then ascended the rock, accompanied by a deputation to take an account of all property public and private, and even the apartments, and *persons*, of the women were plundered of their remaining jewels and ornaments, to the amount of 5000 rupees only. The official servants of revenue were placed in separate custody; and Hyder, whose own experience enabled him to calculate the amount of embezzlement, which each could conveniently spare, satisfied himself for the present with levying on them ten lacs of rupees. These operations being completed early in the month of April, he received the whole of the prisoners, civil, and military, (their chief alone excepted,) into his gracious favour and service. The departments of the late government were put into immediate activity, as a branch of the general administration; orders were issued for the future regulation of the revenues, and the command of the subordinate garrisons; not a man attempted to disobey them and all the possessions of the house of Gorepora, were transferred with no other ceremony than the substitution of the seal of Hyder. For the present, the family was sent to Seringapatam; but after Hyder's return to that place, they were dispatched to Cabal Droog; where Morari Row soon

afterwards died. Without the aids to which we have formerly\* adverted, it is certain that a confinement on this rock is not necessarily a sentence of death; many of the family survived for fifteen years, and were destroyed in the general massacre of prisoners which was perpetrated by Tippoo's orders in 1791.

In the mean while the treachery of the Arab troops of Ragoba<sup>1</sup> had precipitated the ruin of all his prospects, by the sudden alarm which caused him to fly, apparently without sufficient cause, from a field of battle to Cambay, and thence to Surat, where, on the 6th March 1775, he had concluded a treaty with the English Government of Bombay, for providing him with aid to recover his authority on terms of reciprocal advantage. An act of parliament had, in the year 1773,<sup>2</sup> wisely conferred on the English Government of Bengal, now rendered the Government General, a controlling power over the other presidencies, and it was the first exercise of this authority, openly to disapprove and annul a treaty, concluded without their sanction. Colonel Upton was sent, in consequence, as the envoy of the Government General, to treat with the actual Government at Poona, (the ministers or ministerial party, as they are usually named in the records of these times;) but all that could give force to a negotiation with such persons, had already been conceded without negotiation. Already the Mahrattas had nothing to fear, and the English reciprocally nothing to hope. The secret history of these events, may be traced in the

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\* P. 255.

<sup>1</sup> For the course followed by Raghunath Rao after his treaty with Haider in 1774 down to March 1775, see Edwards: *Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, pp. 13-30.

<sup>2</sup> The Regulating Act of 1773, entitled, "an Act for establishing certain regulation for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe." "The passing of this Act marked the formal beginning of British Indian constitutional history." (Sir Verney Lovell; *The Nations of To-day*, p. 82.)

tortuous policy adopted in England, of sending three councillors<sup>1</sup> to Bengal, ostensibly to aid, but (so far as intention can be inferred from the result) practically to outvote the governor-general, Mr. Hastings, the most virtuous and most able servant of the state, in the deliberations of the Government; in one and the same act, conferring, and subverting authority; and seeking to establish order through the medium of disunion. However pure the intentions of these gentlemen may have been, and however faulty the previous policy of Bombay, the sagacity was at least questionable, of thus gratuitously throwing themselves on the candour of the most deceitful of the human race, and adopting a conduct, which such persons could scarcely fail to attribute exclusively to fear. A treaty was concluded by Colonel Upton, on the first of March, 1776, which the Government of Bombay characterize as "highly injurious to the reputation, honour, and interests of the nation, and the Company." An experience of the insolence which such political courtesy inspired, failed to convince the Government of Bengal, that they had begun at the wrong end; and it was not until the Governor-general obtained a majority in his own council, that the discussions terminated in the renewal of a treaty with Ragoba, in November 1778. Shortly, however, after the conclusion of the first treaty with Bombay, in 1775, Ragoba addressed a letter to Hyder, through his agent Bajee Row Burwa, communicating the nature of this alliance, stating his confident expectation of recovering his rightful possession of the musnud of Poona, and proposing to Hyder an arrangement in perfect consonance with his wishes, namely, that he should take possession of the whole of the Mahratta territory up to the right bank of the Kistna; and be

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<sup>1</sup> When Warren Hastings became Governor-General of Bengal, his colleagues were named in the Act. The three referred to were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis, who all took office with strong prejudices against Warren Hastings.

ready from that advanced position to assist Ragoba in the execution of his designs, with military as well as pecuniary aid. Hyder certainly dispatched to Ragonaut Row, in pursuance of this arrangement, Soucars bills at different periods, to the amount of sixteen lacs of rupees. It was understood by him, that those countries should remain permanently annexed to the dominions of Mysoor, but, if Ragoba had succeeded in the re-establishment of his authority, it is probable that he would have given another interpretation to the equivocal terms of his letter.

It was in conformity to this arrangement that, immediately after the capture of Gooty, Hyder collected all his tributary chiefs on the northern border, with their respective quotas of troops, and the subjoined statement\* of those which were actually assembled, will be the best evidence of his acknowledged dependencies at this period. It had for some time been announced that the fall of Gooty would be the signal of march; and in a few days after that event, the whole was in motion for Savanoor. The Patân Nabob of that province had been deprived by the Mahrattas of one half of his former territory; and for sparing the remaining half, he offered a military contribution of three lacs of pagodas, which Hyder rejected, and proceeded without distinction of Mahommedan or Mahratta claims to occupy the whole. He had succeeded in making himself master of about one half of the province, when the monsoon

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	Horse	Peons
* The Poligar of Chittledroog ..	1,000	4,000
Do. Harponelly ..	300	3,000
Dulwoy of Raidroog ..	200	2,000
Do. Anagoondy ..	100	1,000
Poligar of Kunnuckgeery ..	200	1,500
Abd-ul-Hulleem Khân, Nabob of Kurpa.	2,000	..

To these troops he paid at the rate of four Hyderi pagodas, or 16 rupees a month, for each mounted horseman; and one pagoda, or four rupees for each peon, while absent from their own territory.



burst with great violence, and the destruction which it produced among the horses and cattle of the army, induced him to break up for the rains. He accordingly left a select corps in Bancapoor,<sup>1</sup> with directions to watch, and as far as possible, intercept, the supplies of the garrison of Darwar, not yet reduced; and inclining to the eastward, re-crossed the Toombuddra in basket\* boats; and having dismissed the tributaries, he pursued his march to Seringapatam, where he arrived in the month of August.

He made use of this interval of leisure to summon to the capital the whole of the Aumil† of his dominions, and the tributaries in person, or by their agents, for the purpose of adjusting their past accounts and future revenues. His demands on the tributaries under the designation of Peshcush,<sup>2</sup> was far from being the nominal acknowledgment of dependency, tolerated under weaker governments;

<sup>1</sup> *Bancapoor*.—Bankapur, a town south of Savanur, North Canara District, Bombay.

\* See p. 467. This simple method of crossing wide and unfordable rivers, is recommended to military practice by the facility with which the materials can almost every where be obtained; it has been repeatedly adopted by English corps in India, for cannon as well as troops, a basket boat ten feet diameter, being adequate to the conveyance of an iron twelve pounder on its carriage.

† Aumil, or Aumildar, a collector or contractor of revenue, as the case may be; or generally, as with Hyder, exercising a mixed character, composed of both these functions. An Aumil, for example, agreed to give for a district a fixed sum, on the condition that a loss or a gain, not exceeding ten per cent. was his own; if either exceeded that sum, the difference was borne or received by the Government; this practice was introduced by Chick Deo Raj, and continued by his successors with modifications and exceptions.

[Aumildar, term used in Mysore, meaning the collector of revenue and subordinate magistrate-in-charge of a taluq or subdivision of a district.]

<sup>2</sup> *Peshcush*.—Pers. *pe-sh-kash*, a term used as an offering or tribute, but with many specific and technical senses, e.g., a quit-rent, a payment exerted on lands formerly rent free.

the example of Anagoondy, which from 7,000 pagodas was raised to 12,000, exclusively of maintaining the military contingent of troops, (which were only paid by Hyder when called to the field), may serve to convey a general idea of the scale of augmentation in this branch of revenue; it was of course still proportionally increased, where he found it expedient to allow to a poligar the management of his country, without exacting a contingent of troops. The collectors or contractors of revenue were tolerably well aware, that the surplus demands would fall little short of the sums which they had irregularly exacted, or falsified in the accounts. Hyder was at all times accessible to complaints, and never failed to pursue to its source the history of an irregular demand, and to recover it with additional fines from the exactor. It is true that the amount was never returned to the complainant, but it frequently produced the dismissal of the offender; the certainty of investigation tended to restrain oppression, and, as Hyder was accustomed to say, rapacity in this case was nearly as good for his subjects, and much better for himself than a more scrupulous distribution of justice. He left the fiscal institutions of Chick Deo Raj as he found them, adding, however, to the established revenue whatever had been secretly levied by a skilful or popular Aumil, and afterwards detected: this produced a progressive and regular increase, and the result of complaints gave occasional, but also tolerably regular augmentations. On the present occasion he also levied upon the whole country a forced contribution under the name of free gift,\* for the support of the war. Few of my readers would feel interested in a more detailed description of these transactions, and the foregoing brief sketch may serve, without much future reference, as a general specimen of the fiscal administration of Hyder.

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\* *Nezerâna*, as nearly as may be, the *benevolence* of English history.

## CHAPTER. XX.

*Union of Nizam Ali and the ministerial party at Poona, against Ragoba and Hyder—A corps of Mahrattas invades Savanoor—is attacked and defeated by Hyder's general, Mahommed Ali—Main armies advance in two separate bodies, by the distant points of Savanoor and Rachoor—first, under Perseram Bhow, retires after some timid skirmishing—second, Nizam Ali's, bought off—and Hyder for the present relieved from apprehension—Siege of Chittledroog—Characteristic defence—Composition settled and partly paid—when Hyder hears of the advance of the whole Mahratta army, under Hurry Punt, for the relief of the place—destroys his batteries and trenches—marches off and orders the Poligar to follow his standard—he hesitates and disobeys—Battle of Rârdâvee—Defection of Mânajee Pâncrîa—Defeat of the Mahrattas—Backwardness of Ibrahim, the general of Nizam Ali—Hyder pursues the Mahrattas—reduces the whole territory south of the Kistna, conformably to his arrangements with Ragoba—returns to the south—resumes the siege of Chittledroog—Surrender of the place—History and character of the new governor—Hyder sweeps off the inhabitants, and forms the foundation of his Janissaries—Hyder marches against Kurpa—Retreat and surrender of the Kurpa cavalry—Singular attempt of 80 prisoners to assassinate Hyder in the midst of his army—Surrender of the Chief of Kurpa—conditions—subsequent destruction of the males of the family—Character of Hyder's amorous propensities—Refusal and subsequent assent of the beautiful daughter of this*

*chief—Meer Saheb entrusted with the new conquest—Hyder returns to the capital—Revision of civil administration—finance—police—cruel, ignorant and ungrateful exactions—Apajee Ram—The bankers—Embassy to Delhi—Monsieur Lally's corps—anecdote—system of military payments—Double treaty of marriage with the Nabob of Savanocr—Embassy from Poona—negotiation, explanatory of the union of Hyder with the Mahrattas against the English.*

THE powers of Decan and the south were ranged according to their interests with the parties which now divided the state of Poona. Hyder supported Ragoba, and Nizam Ali declared for the ministerial party, and the posthumous, or reputed son of Narain Row; for in lodging the widow at Poorunder\* for the purpose of producing an heir, she is stated to have been accompanied by a considerable number of pregnant attendants, to prevent disappointment to the views of the party.<sup>1</sup> A plan for the invasion of Mysoor by the confederated armies of Poona and Nizam† Ali was a consequence of these political connexions, and while the arrangements on a larger scale were in preparation, an army‡ composed of the

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\* Properly, I believe, *Poonadhur*, a hill fort near Poona.

[The place is Purandhar fort, 18 miles south-east of Poona.]

<sup>1</sup> Grant Duff thought that there was little doubt that the child (Mahdu Rao Narayan) was the son of the murdered Narayan Rao. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 16.)

† The restitution of Dowlatabad to Nizam Ali, was the price of his adherence to the ministerial party. Its session to the Mahrattas had been one of the conditions of the peace with Ragoba in 1774.

[See Grant Duff on the treaty which the Nizam made with Ragoba in December 1773. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 11.)]

‡ The chiefs were, 1st, *Pandrung Tatia*—2d, *Letchman Heri*—3d, one of the *Putwerdun* family—and 4th, a nephew of Morari Row, named *Siveram*.

[The command was in the hands of Pavvardhan Kanhir

contingents of four considerable chiefs proceeded to dislodge Hyder's troops from Savanoor ; and to make such farther progress as might be practicable, before the approach of the main armies.

Hyder\* prepared such a force as he deemed sufficient to repel this meditated attack ; and conferred the command on Mahommed Ali,† who was also invested with authority over the troops at Bancapoor. This skilful officer came up with the Mahrattas at a place called Saunsee,<sup>1</sup> and found them drawn up to offer him battle. He made his dispositions, and commenced the action with his cavalry, by a feint in which he was repulsed in apparent disorder. The Mahrattas pursued with precipitation, in the confidence that the fortune of the day had already decided in their favour ; when suddenly the fugitives were received through the intervals of a powerful reserve ; and at the same instant, a tremendous fire of grape and musquetry poured in on the flank of the pursuers, from an ambush previously prepared. The slaughter was serious, and the confusion irretrievable : Mahommed Ali made a determined charge at the head of his cavalry, and completed the route. The pursuit was continued for nine miles from the field of battle ; and the capture of ‡ two out of the four chiefs, with a considerable number of subordinate officers, and three thousand horses secured for the service of the state, attested the decisive result of this combat.

The confederate armies were now approaching,

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Pant. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 35.)]

\* From October 1776 till April 1777, Hyder's troops in Malabar were engaged in hostilities with the Dutch at Cochin; but as the causes of dispute are connected with the English war of 1790-2, it will be more convenient to revert to these events, when tracing the origin of that war.

† The person who had distinguished himself by the murder of his own wounded.

<sup>1</sup> *Saunsee*.—Saunsi, 10 miles north of Savanur.

‡ The first and last of those before mentioned.

that of the Mahrattas, under Perseram Bhow,<sup>1</sup> estimated at 30,000 men, assembled near Meritch, on the left bank of the Kistna, for the purpose of penetrating by the province of Savanoor, in a south-eastern direction: the army of Nizam Ali, under Ibrahim Khân. (Dhownsa)<sup>2</sup> estimated at 40,000, moved by Rachore, and was to follow a course nearly south: thus, the two armies, by following the stated directions, or converging in their approach, would be enabled to enter the territory of Mysoor, at points varying in their distance from each other, from 20 to 150 miles. Hyder fixed upon Gooty as a depôt, and point of support, for offensive or defensive operations; and as the rendezvous of all the subsidiary troops, who had attended his standard in the preceding campaign: and thither he also moved with the main body of his own army, reinforcing Mahommed Ali with a respectable corps, which left him tolerably confident with regard to that branch of the attack. Perseram Bhow, on reconnoitring the force of Mahommed Ali, and reflecting on the severe lesson which he had recently given to the Mahratta troops, reported to his court, that reinforcements were necessary; and after some timid manœuvring, retired for security behind the Kistna. Hyder had in the mean while operated on the court, and commander-in-chief of Nizam Ali, by other and more concealed weapons; and Ibrahim Khân was thus furnished with ostensible motives of military propriety, besides the secret influence of the gold of Hyder, for regulating his proceedings, by the retrograde movements of the Mahrattas. He had advanced as far as Adwānee, when the movement of Perseram Bhow was reported

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<sup>1</sup> *Perseram Bhow*.—Parasuram Bhanu Patvardhan. He commanded a body of cavalry in the attack of Mysore in 1770.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhownsa*.—*Dhonsa* is the Hindustani name for one of the drums usually carried by parties of horse, the bye name by which Ibrahim Beg was known. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 57, note.)

to him ; there was no apparent ground for suspicion at Poona, when he declared it too hazardous, under such circumstances, to preserve his advanced position ; and he accordingly retired behind the Toombuddra, and subsequently recrossed the Kistna. The periodical floods of the south-west monsoon converted the rivers into barriers shortly after these events, and Hyder was, for the present, relieved from this formidable confederacy.

Of the tributaries who had been summoned to attend his standard on this occasion, two had failed in their allegiance. The Nabob\* of Kurpa joined the standard of his Mahomedan adversary, Nizam Ali ; and the poligar of Chittledroog† influenced by the assurances of his agent at Poona, that the first military‡ officer of the state, with an immense army would shortly invade Mysoor, and permanently relieve him from the dominion of Hyder, remained at home. Hyder, who had long and earnestly desired the possession of that fortress (celebrated beyond its real importance), and was jealous of the power and distinguished bravery of the poligar, and his formidable troops, marched from Gooty to Chittledroog, and rejecting the submissive offers of the unfortunate chief, to atone for his error by a large fine, sat down before the place in the month of July. The siege continued for three months, with more perseverance than military skill on the side of Hyder ; and on the part of the besieged, with a mixture of enthusiastic fatalism, and heedless, headlong valour, which is strongly characteristic of the Beder tribe.<sup>1</sup> A temple

\* Abd-ul-Helleem Khan.

† Sometimes called Chitrigul. In most of our maps they are erroneously inserted as two different places.

‡ Hurry Punt Purkia.

[Hari Pant Phadke, Karkun of Mahdu Rao Peshwa.]

<sup>1</sup> "The class of Bedars, of which the Palegar Madakeri Nayak was the chief, is said to have migrated from Jadikaldrug in Kadapa, some marches west of the famous shrine of Tirupati,

dedicated to the goddess\* who delights in blood, was erected on the summit of the *Droog*, an appellative derived from an attribute† of the goddess; and so long as her rites should be duly performed, they believed that in fact, as well as in name, their fortress would be inaccessible. On every Monday, after performing their devotions to the goddess, the Beders made a religious sortie; this, after a few repetitions, was as regularly known in the camp of the besiegers, as in the fort. A particular sound of the horn‡ always gave intimation that they had finished their preparatory devotions and were about to sally: every thing was known, except the exact point of attack, and notwithstanding all the advantages of preparation, on the side of the besiegers, the Beders never once returned without penetrating into the trenches, and carrying off a certain number of *heads*, to offer at the shrine of *Cali*. After the fall of the place, the heads were found ranged in rows of small pyramids, in regular order, in front of the temple of the goddess, to the

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and to have settled in the neighbourhood of Chitaldrug in the year 1475. Their leader, named Timmana, was appointed by the King of Vijayanagar to the office of Nayak of Chitaldrug, and his son Obana, on the fall of Vijayanagar in 1564, assumed independence. The Bedars gradually extended their possessions, which eventually yielded a revenue of four or five lacs, but during the rule of Barmappa Nayak, the *palam* became tributary to the Mughal deputy at Sira. As Haidar had seized that district, which the Marathas also claimed as an appanage of the Bijapur Kingdom, the Nayak felt himself to be in a precarious position, both parties demanding his alliance. He was at the same time conscious of the natural strength of Chitaldrug and of the fidelity of his clan. The town was built at the base of a mass of rugged desolate hills extending many miles west and south; and was girt by an extensive line of fortifications, which, when manned by the brave Bedars, offered a formidable resistance to Haidar's attacks." (Lewis Bowring: *Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan*, pp. 72-3.)

\* *Cali*. [*Kali*.]

† *Durga-Durgum*, *inaccessible*, one of the epithets of *Cali*.

‡ A sort of large bugle, which, when well sounded, is a fine martial instrument.



amount of about two thousand. In every interval the poligar repeated his offers of atonement, and every successive sortie evinced increasing ardor, and furious confidence: the point of attack was always judiciously varied; and as they never once failed, the besiegers began to acquire the awkward habit of not awaiting it; and the fury of the assault would frequently fall far from the intended point; because after penetrating, and finding the posts abandoned, the Beders would generally take the trench in flank, and range along a considerable extent, before they could procure sufficient materials for the sacrifice; arrangements however were progressively made, by which the batteries being converted into redoubts, and strongly palisaded, inflicted terrible retribution on the Beders in their return. A composition was at length completed, by which Hyder professed to forgive the past, and accepted as a pledge of future obedience, thirteen lacs of pagodas; of which five in wrought-plate had actually been paid, when intelligence arrived that the ministerial commander-in-chief, *Hurry Punt*, was approaching from Poona, with an army rated at 60,000 horse, and a proportionate number of infantry and guns: that the rivers had fallen, and were already fordable: and that the advance of the hostile army was within a few days march of the Toombuddra. Hyder determined to put to a severe and immediate proof the professed allegiance of the poligar. The whole transaction was probably a snare; but the ostensible facts are, that he destroyed his batteries, and trenches, in the greatest haste; marched off to the north, and summoned the poligar instantly to attend his standard against *Hurry Punt*. If fortune should declare in favour of the Mahrattas, it is obvious that obedience would be fatal to all the hopes of the *poligar*, and if Hyder should prevail, to obey, or to disobey, would only leave a choice of ills; namely to pay the remainder of the treasure, or to stand another siege. To obey was inevitable evil; to disobey presented a

chance of good : and in consequence of this reasoning, which has been circumstantially stated to me by one of his descendants, he promised—but evaded attendance.

Hyder, in the mean while, was actively employed through the medium of Bagee Row Burva,<sup>1</sup> the agent of Ragoba, in augmenting the discord which then prevailed in the Mahratta armies attached to either party ; and a chief of 10,000, named *Mānajee Pāncrīa*,<sup>2</sup> had been secretly gained by a bribe of six lacs of rupees, to separate his forces from those of Hurry Punt, in the first action ; and afterwards serve Hyder, and the cause of Ragoba, on terms which were stipulated. The Mahratta army, after some delay in the arrival of reinforcements, and the vain hope of co-operation from the army of Nizam Ali, at length crossed the Toombuddra ; and was encamped at a place called Rārāvee, preparing to advance for the destruction of Hyder. That chief, as soon as he considered the arrangement with *Mānajee Pāncrīa* to be mature, advanced to offer battle to Hurry Punt. The armies came in sight of each other a few miles to the southward of Rārāvee ; and reciprocally commenced their operations by a distant cannonade. The corps of *Mānajee Pāncrīa* had its place on the left flank of the Mahratta army, and was observed to leave an interval which was the concerted signal, preparatory to separation ; but in its subsequent movements, there was a wavering, the effect of mere indecision, which led Hyder to the groundless suspicion of a double treason ; with this impression on his mind, he sought to retort, by demonstrations which should induce Hurry Punt in his turn to suspect the

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<sup>1</sup> *Bagee Row Burva*.—Baji Pant Barve, was a near connexion of Raghunath Rao, by his first wife, whose surname was Barve. (Grant Duff : *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 65.)

<sup>2</sup> *Mānajee Pāncrīa*.—Manaji Phakde, was one of the legitimate Sindias of Kannerkhera, a village 16 miles east of Satara, from which the Gwalior family are derived.

fidelity of his double dealer. Light troops were spread abroad, to cover an apparent communication of dromedary couriers, and to exhibit the appearance of frequent messages from Mānajeé Pāncrīa. The impression on Hurry Punt was effectual, but it was that of a first and sudden alarm, the more serious from his ignorance of the extent of disaffection; he looked every where over the field with similar suspicion, but every where else there was an appearance of firmness: what he saw was however sufficient to determine him on a retreat; the disposition which was made in consequence affords evidence of considerable talents, and the most perfect self-possession. A general movement was observed to take place, and Hyder paused to ascertain its object, before he should make any corresponding dispositions. In a few moments an impenetrable cloud of dust arose, both in front and rear of the Mahratta line, which neither decidedly approached, nor decidedly receded; it was evidently the mass of their cavalry in full charge; but not towards Hyder; some time had elapsed before he perceived that the corps of Mānajeé Pāncrīa had been enveloped and swept off the field; and that a powerful rear-guard presented itself to cover the retreat of the whole. The armies had not sufficiently closed to render the pursuit decisive, and two guns only were lost by Hurry Punt, in effecting his retreat behind the Toombuddra, where a strong position secured him from insult, and afforded him leisure to investigate the extent of the disaffection, which had produced his retreat. The troops of Mānajeé Pāncrīa had made a tolerably gallant resistance, and attempted to move in mass towards Hyder; the greater part, however, were cut to pieces, and Mānajeé Pāncrīa himself, wounded, and accompanied by no more than thirty select friends, had opened a way through the surrounding mass, and made good his escape to Hyder.

These events, however inferior to the full

accomplishment of the plan which had been marred by Panoria's hesitation, and Hyder's impatience, were sufficient to defeat the whole project of the Mahratta campaign. Hurry Punt quitted his position, and continued his retreat ; and Hyder availed himself with alacrity and judgment, of the opportunity which was thus offered of following up the impression. He hung close upon the rear, and harassed it with incessant attacks until the whole were driven north of the Kistna,<sup>1</sup> in December 1777. In this second invasion, Ibrahim Khân affected to advert to the danger and disappointment which he had once already incurred, by advancing in the faith of a simultaneous movement which was not made ; this time he would wait for the evidence of facts ; and the gold of Hyder kept him inactive, until thus relieved by a second apology, founded on the conduct of his allies. The retreat of Hurry Punt was directed to a position thirty miles to the westward of Ibrahim Khân's encampment, and the utmost endeavours of the party at Poona, failed to prevail on Nizam Ali to issue positive orders for his joining, and resuming the offensive.

Hyder had now an open field for the realization 1778. of the plan concerted with Ragoba, for the occupation of the Mahratta territory\* between the Toombuddra and Kistna ; and his victorious pursuit of the main army prepared the minds of men for submission ; the absence of all opposition in the field enabled him to detach Sirdar Khân for the siege of Darwar, where he expected a regular resistance ; and

<sup>1</sup> Hyder in a letter to the Bombay Government, dated January 9th, 1778, gave Hari Pant Phadke no credit for his retreat, but represented it as a victory he had gained. (Forest : *Selections, Maratha Series*. Vol. I, p. 308.)

\* This, like the territory inclosed between the branches of the Indus, is sometimes called the *Penjâb*, or country of the five rivers, viz. Toombuddra—Werda—Malpurba—Gutpurba, and Kistna.

[Tungabhadra. Varada, Malprabha, Ghatprabha, Kistna.]

he proceeded himself to the reduction of the Droogs of Copul and Behauder Benda, which ought to be deemed impregnable, but fell in the month of April. The sieges of Gujjendergur,<sup>1</sup> Badami, Jullihāl, and a number of posts of minor consideration occupied a considerable time, but presented little of the description of incident, on which the general reader would consider his attention to be either agreeably or profitably employed. Darwar also fell, after a protracted siege, and towards the close of the year, Hyder, in contemplating the fertile banks of the river Kistna, marked it with exultation as the northern boundary of an empire, which himself had made his own. The rapidity of the conquest was facilitated by his attention to local circumstances; he found the country chiefly held by hereditary Deshayes,\* the same description of persons, whom in other provinces we have found, under the designation of Wadeyars, Zemindars, Poligars, &c. (all Rajas,) and he consented for the present to receive from them their accustomed Peshcush, on the condition of the prompt payment, as a free gift, of a farther sum equal to their annual revenue.

These arrangements being completed, about the close of the year he returned to the south. He had an account of disobedience to adjust with the chief of Kurpa; in which direction he detached Meer Saheb with his own corps, to make such preparatory progress as he should find to be practicable, and himself with the main army sat down a second time before Chittle-droog.

The Poligar and his adherents conducted the defence with their accustomed bravery; but, prodigal of life, the greater part of his relations and trusty

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<sup>1</sup> *Gujjendergur*.—Gajendragad, Badami, Ilkal and Kopal, all north of the Tungabhadra, in the Lindugur District of the Nizam's dominions and the Dharwar District, Bombay.

\* The chief of these were the Deshayes of Nergoond, Noolgund, Seretty, Dummul, &c. &c.

chiefs were, at length, either killed or wounded in the incessant and determined sallies which he continued to make, and which Hyder had learned by experience to render destructive to the assailants. The Poligar had also a number of Mahommedans in his service, formed into a corps regularly armed, of about three thousand men, whom Hyder found means to corrupt through the medium of their spiritual instructor, a holy and unsuspected hermit,\* who resided, unmolested, on the plain below, near to Hyder's encampment. When the Polygar† discovered that he was betrayed, and had evidence, in the failure of a recent sortie, that Cālī was no longer propitious to his vows, he ascended his palankcen of state, ordered himself to be carried to Hyder's camp, and threw himself on the mercy of the victor, in the beginning of March 1779. The plunder of his habitation, including cash, jewels, and the personal ornaments of the women, amounted to no more than five lacs of rupees: the whole family was of course secured, and sent as prisoners to Seringapatam, and Hyder, after making the requisite arrangements for the occupation of the place, prepared to follow Meer Sāheb to Kurpa.

Among the prisoners carried off in the first 1779. inhuman emigration from Malabar, was a young Nair, from Chercul, who had been received as a slave of the palace, and to whom, on his forced conversion to Islām, they had given the name of Sheik Ayāz.‡ The noble port, ingenuous manners, and singular beauty of the boy, attracted general attention; and when at a more mature age he was led into the field, his ardent valour and uncommon intelligence, recommended him to the particular favour of Hyder, who

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\* I have seen and conversed with this holy personage, whose service on this occasion was liberally rewarded by Hyder.

† Mudgerry Naick.

‡ The same person afterwards Governor of Bednore at the accession of Tippoo, and called in most English accounts *Hyat-Sāheb*.

was an enthusiast in his praise, and would frequently speak of him, under the designation of "his right hand in the hour of danger." Throughout every period of Mahommedan history, we find peculiar confidence reposed in captives separated from their families in early youth: the pangs of an afflicted parent are no part of a monster's care; but he calculates with cold accuracy, that the recollections of infancy are soon obliterated; and that such children, being exempt from the ordinary ties of society, readily transfer the affections, implanted by nature for other purposes, in the form of undivided attachment to a kind protector; for such is certainly the character which the Mussulman assumes towards such of his slaves, whether captives, or born in the family, as evince talents and good dispositions. In the conversation of Mahommedan chiefs, a *slave of the house*, far from being a term of degradation or reproach, uniformly conveys the impression of an affectionate and trust-worthy humble friend, and such was Ayâz in the estimation of Hyder. To the endowments which have been stated, incessant and confidential military service had superadded experience beyond his years; and Hyder selected him for the important trust of civil and military governor of the fort and territory of Chittledroog. But modest as he was faithful and brave, Ayâz wished to decline the distinction, as one to which he felt himself incompetent; and particularly objected, that he could neither read nor write, and was consequently incapable of a civil charge. "Keep a corla\* at your right hand," said Hyder, "and that will do you better service than pen and ink:" then assuming a graver

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\* A long whip of cotton rope, about an inch and a half in diameter at the thick end, where it is grasped, and tapering to a point at the other extremity; this severe instrument of personal punishment, is about nine feet long; and Hyder was constantly attended by a considerable number of persons, too constantly practised in its use.

countenance; "place reliance," added he, "on your excellent understanding! act from yourself alone! fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribblers! but trust in me as I trust\* in you! reading and writing!! how have I risen to empire, without the knowledge of either?"

During the two sieges of Chittledroog, Hyder had found the natives of the territory, (also chiefly Beders) adhering to their chief with unconquerable attachment; no severity of military execution could restrain persons of each sex, and every age, from risking their lives with the constancy and exultation of martyrs, for the purpose of carrying to the besieged such supplies as an incessant succession of individuals could convey. To subsist his army exclusively on the resources of the country, to consume all its provisions, and to seize all the visible property, to the amount of twelve lacs of pagodas, was of no avail; and he was at length induced to sweep off the whole remaining population, which now consisted only of those who had the patriotism to devote themselves to the service of their besieged friends; all the rest having long before sought refuge in the woods, or in other provinces. The number thus carried off, to people the island of Seringapatam, amounted to about 20,000; from the boys of a proper age, he formed the first regular military establishment of captive converts, in imitation of the Turkish Janissaries (new soldiers), which, under the name of chela battalions † arrived at maturity, and were so much augmented during the government of his successor.

Meer Saheb, who had been detached towards Kurpa, had agreeably to instruction, recruited his cavalry to 5000; but a chosen band of two thousand

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\* For an allusion to Hyder's fixed estimation of this man, see note on Tippoo's strange compact, Appendix VII to the 18th chapter.

† *Chela* in Hindostanee, signifies *disciple* as well as *slave*.

[The kind-hearted but simple missionary, Schwartz, when



Patân horse, commanded by the nephew of the chief of Kurpa, opposed such effectual and determined resistance to all his movements, that no impression of importance had been made, excepting on the resources of the country, which had been ravaged with the customary cruelty. When Hyder had finished his arrangements at Chittledroog, he put himself at the head of his cavalry; and by forced marches, joined Meer Sâheb to the westward of a small river, which passes near to a place called Dooer, and unites farther south with the Pennâr.<sup>1</sup> On the appearance of the advanced guard, the Patân troops thinking that they had only to do with Meer Sâheb, crossed the sandy bed of the river, and moved on with confidence into the plain. Hyder's advance was ordered to skirmish, and retreat to a concerted point; when the Patâns found themselves suddenly encompassed by the whole body of Hyder's cavalry: they commenced however their retreat, with a determined countenance; and Hyder who desired the preservation of these troops for his own future service, and hoped that they would surrender; at first directed his cavalry to abstain from the use of the keroolee (matchlock carbine:) the Patân horse did not however refrain from the exercise of their skill in archery, an antient and formidable missile of retreating cavalry, not peculiar to the Parthians; and Hyder for the preservation of his own troops was compelled to revoke his first order. No infantry or cannon had yet arrived; the skirmishing of the

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he visited Seringapatam in 1779, was led to believe that these boys were destitute orphans, whom Haider had kindly taken under his protection. (Lewis Bowring: *Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan*, p. 75 note.)]

<sup>1</sup> *Pennâr*.—Penneru. The river rises in Mysore, and takes a northerly course through the Anantapur District, Madras, and then turns east and passes into the Cuddapah District and on through the Nellore District to the sea. It is in length 355 miles and generally runs in flood from August for about 60 days. For nine months the bed is nearly dry.

matchlock carbines sensibly thinned the numbers of the Patâns, but they continued their retreat into the town of Dooer; where as they found themselves completely surrounded, and the main army approaching, this brave little band had no alternative but to surrender at discretion. Hyder turned from hence to the south-east, and took possession of the town of Kurpa without resistance; Abd-ul-Helleem Khân, the Patân Nabob,\* had retired from this his usual residence, to Sidhout,<sup>1</sup> a place of inconsiderable strength to the north-east of Kurpa, whither also a division of Hyder's army had moved, and invested the place, while another was occupied in rifling the capital.

The horse of the Indian cavalier is generally his own, and with his sword, his bow and quiver, or his

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\* I am reminded by highly competent authority, that in following the practice of Mr. Orme, and the better sanction of the Company's records, in employing the term *Nabob* as the designation of office, I have been habitually inaccurate; and acknowledging the fault, I know not how to mend it, and to render the narrative always intelligible to the general reader.

*Nawab*, the Arabic plural of *Naib*, a deputy, is, if I recollect right, employed in Arabia and Persia, simply in its primitive sense. In its acknowledged acceptation in India, it is a title of honour, indefinitely and indiscriminately applied to all persons in high official situations; but in regular form of speech, in letters, and diplomatic writings, never used as a designation of office. It is not, (as my friend remarks,) simply a corruption of language when so employed; it misleads the mind to the conception of rights appertaining to princely relation. These observations might be applied with greater justice to the strange misnomer of *king*, bestowed upon the Raja of Tanjour, the vassal of a vassal; a ridiculous error, which practically invested him with all the rights of royalty, acknowledged by the Company and the ministers of the King of Great Britain. In the text the Patân Nabob was properly *foujedar*; but had I so named him, many of my readers would have been at a loss to know who was intended.

<sup>1</sup> *Sidhout*.—Siddhavattam, 10 miles east of Cuddapah, on the left bank of the Penneru river, now chiefly famous for the melons, which are grown in the bed of the river.

lance, often constitutes his only property : the reflexion of the separate risks of property, and life, cannot fail to operate most powerfully, in restraining the energy of enterprize : and in a declining cause, Hyder's known policy of neutralizing resistance, by restoring this property to the vanquished, was often his most powerful ally in the day of battle.

Of the prisoners taken at Dooer, he immediately released, and took into his service with their horses, such as had connexions in his own army, who consented to become responsible for their conduct ; but among them were eighty ferocious Afghans\* of the north, whose horses had been killed, and who could obtain no sureties for their release. In the proud spirit of savage independence, they refused to deliver their swords ; and as among Mahommedans, a cavalier always ranks as a gentleman, whose honour is outraged by despoiling him of his arms, Hyder in deference to this feeling, and in expectation that the same intercession and pledge which had released their associates would be found for them also, although on the first clamour and refusal being reported, he only cried out "take a stick to them," subsequently relaxed and did not enforce the surrender of their swords. Such is the explanation of the singular fact, that eighty of the most powerful, sanguinary, fierce, and treacherous men on earth, were placed with swords in their hands, under the ordinary guard of head quarters, exactly in front of Hyder's tents ; which like those of all chiefs of rank, were enclosed within a large

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\* Synonymous with *Patans*. The complexion of this northern race is remarkable ; the whole face has a tint approaching that which in other northern nations is diffused over the cheek only. From what I have seen of the natives of Nepal, and the intermediate points, I am disposed to think, that this peculiar complexion is common to the inhabitants of the whole continuation of the Parepamisos, (Hindoo Kho,) or Indian Caucasus. In the lower range of hills, south of Nepal, the complexion and features rather approach those of the Chinese.

square of tent-wall, about eight feet high, to veil them from vulgar observation. Offended and inflamed, by the attempt to disarm them, the prisoners had marked during their march from Dooer, the arrangements of the tents within the square, and secretly concerted their plan of revenge. In the dead of night they suddenly arose, overpowered and slew their guards, and rushed towards the sleeping tent. Hyder hearing the alarm, penetrated at once the nature of the commotion, and with admirable presence of mind, covered with his quilt the long pillow of his bed, so as to resemble a person asleep; cut with his sword, a passage for himself through his own tent-wall, and that of the enclosure, and escaped to the protection of the nearest corps. Two only of the Afghans entered the sleeping tent, the remainder being disposed according to the pre-concerted plan, to cover their enterprize and retreat. The foremost entering the tent, made a decisive cut at the supposed Hyder; and on finding that he had escaped, was so stupified at the disappointment, as to remain in silent hesitation. One of Hyder's attendants, as was not uncommon,\* had lain down to sleep, in a corner of the tent, with his lance of state by his side; he was roused by the blow at his master's bed; and a dubious light discovered to him a stranger and a drawn sword; without hesitation he seized his lance, transfixing the Afghan, and successively his associate, who advanced to his aid. The alarm was by this time given; and in a few minutes the remainder were either slain, or disarmed. On the morning, after his escape from this most serious danger, Hyder ordered some of the surviving assassins to have both their hands and feet chopped off, and in that shocking state, to be thrown into the highway, at considerable intervals from each other, to announce to his new subjects, and to passing travellers the terror of his name. The remainder were destined to a death

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\* Thalami consorto demissa.

if possible more horrible, by being dragged round the camp, tied by a short, loose cord to the feet of elephants.\*

**May.** This, among other incidents, contributed to shorten the defence of Sidhout; many attempts to compromise were disdainfully rejected, and Abd-ul-Helleem Khān surrendered on the 27th of May, on the simple assurance of personal security, and was sent as a prisoner, with his family and connections, to Seringapatam. The characteristic improvidence of the Mussulman is peculiarly observable in the Patān; and the rifling of the whole family, in all its branches, furnished no more than one lac of rupees. The compact with the chief was literally observed; but Hyder having, on his return to the capital, discovered a new plot of assassination among the relations, caused all the male adults of the family to be secretly dispatched.

No prominent occasion has hitherto occurred for presenting to the reader's notice the private consequences of a passion, not clashing with ambition, but exercising a joint and equal dominion over the mind of this extraordinary man. The polygamy and unlimited intercourse, supposed to be authorised by the Mahommedan religion, is restricted, by the positive law of the Korān, to four women at the most, including wives and concubines. A separate revelation extended this indulgence for the use of the Apostle himself, and his eventual successors were already provided with about double the prescribed number. Mahommedans of rank accordingly refer to example rather than to precept, and revert to the kings and

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\* One of these men, left as dead, unexpectedly recovered; the circumstance was some time afterwards reported to Hyder, who observed, that such was the man's fate; and ordered him to be immediately received into his service. General Close saw this person, twenty years afterwards, a powerful, healthy looking horseman.

apostles, (as they hold them) of Jewish history, to justify an unbounded\* indulgence. Hyder observed neither limit in the extent, nor principle in the means of gratification; and on the capture of a place, a department charged with the scrutiny of female beauty, discharged their functions with as much vigilance as that which searched for treasure. In the capital and the provinces, branches of the same police conveyed accurate information of every thing deemed worthy of the sovereign's approbation. To Mahomedan families of rank the ceremony of the *nicka*, customary and unlawful as they all know it to be, covered with a thin veil the prostitution of their daughters, and obtained a forced and sorrowful consent. Among all the classes not Mahomedan there was no ceremonial but force; nothing escaped his research, and the power† and the will were combined in the most extraordinary degree, to render him the secret terror of every family, removed above the lowest vulgar of the sootiest hue. It were unreasonable to expect under such institutions, any touch of that fairy magic of mind, which is capable of transforming animal instinct into the most tender and delicate source of human happiness: but Hyder seems to have been unmoved even by those fleeting partialities, which accompany the grosser pursuits. There was nothing of mind in that which seemed to occupy so much of his thoughts: and neither that, nor any other object, was ever known to encroach on a single

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\* There is, however, always a distinction between the lawful wives and those of the imperfect contract; but none in the offspring, who have all an equal right to the inheritance, whether born of legitimate (or primary) wives, or concubines, with no legal difference between them, but that of the males being double the portion of the females.

† *Amoribus mire crebris cupidinem explens, membro genitali magnitudinis eximie mulieres maturas incommodo afficiens, virginum tamen amplexus potissimum appetivit; assuetus singulis fere noctibus puellam intactam stuprare.*

moment, which could be profitably employed in the career of ambition.

The right of conquest gave him a claim to all the beauty of this ancient house; and a sister of Abd-ul-Helleem Khân, eighteen, but unmarried, was reported to exceed any thing that had yet entered the seraglio. Hyder considered no formality to be necessary, and merely ordered her to be informed of the honour to which she was destined. The lady formed a different estimate of this supposed distinction; her own honour and that of her house were the paramount considerations with which her mind had been imbued; in accepting the proposals even of such a marriage as he could offer, she deemed that she would be conferring, not receiving distinction; and she informed the messenger, that she was provided with secret and infallible\* means of guarding her honour; and if Hyder persevered in his intentions, he could only receive a corpse to his bed. A negotiation ensued—the ceremony of the *nicka* was performed, and this lady, under the title of *Buckshee*

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\* *Diamond pulverized*, reputed among the Mahommedans of rank, in the south of India, to be at once the least painful, the most active, and infallible of all the poisons. Whatever doubts may be entertained of the fact, there is none regarding their belief; and the supposed powder of diamonds is kept as a last resource, like the sword of the Roman: but I have never met with any person, who, from his own knowledge, could describe its visible effects. The Mahommedan medical men of that country have seldom much respectability, and frequently are not only ignorant quacks, but impostors; perfectly capable of receiving a diamond, and returning arsenic, or powdered quartz: like the apothecary in the very strange life of *Benvenuto Cellini*; who considers the diamond as a *slow poison*, and enters into the rationale of its mode of action, from the mechanical effects of its spicula. From the narrative of *Cellini*, who ascribes his escape from certain death to the dishonesty of the apothecary, who appropriated the diamond, and returned glass or sand, the poisonous effects of diamond would seem to have been considered as a familiar fact in Italy in the sixteenth century; and the fact, or the error, in both countries, may have a common source, which it would be at least an object of curiosity to investigate.

*Begum*, was soon afterwards placed at the head of the seraglio.\*

Hyder's increased confidence in the fixed fidelity of his brother-in-law, Meer Saheb, was evinced by his adding the territory acquired by the fall of Sidhout to the seat of his fathers at Goorumconda, and conferring the whole, as a military dependency, on the condition of maintaining for his service, together with the requisite garrisons, three thousand horse of the first order of efficiency; and these arrangements being completed, he returned to his capital in the month of June, to enjoy a year of triumph and of dreadful preparation.

The civil affairs of his government demanded, in his judgment, a deliberate revision, and the description of these arrangements, shall be compressed into as moderate a compass as is consistent with rendering them intelligible. Among the preparatory measures were the appointment of new ministers of finance, and of police, the former named Mahommed Sâdik, and the latter Shamia: the duties of the former office are sufficiently indicated by the name, and the mode of administration may be illustrated by a retrospective abstract.

Hyder's first dewan or minister of finance, after the defection of *Kunde Row*, was one of the same school, named *Vencatapa*, a bramin, who died in his service in 1765. A few days before his death, he addressed a letter to Hyder, stating, that he found his dissolution approaching, that idle conjectures would be formed with regard to the amount of the wealth he had accumulated in his service, and that he there-

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\* From the period that Tippoo was allowed an establishment of his own, his mother, *Seydânes Begum*, was placed at the head of it; and was succeeded in the charge of Hyder's by *Medina Begum*, formerly a dancing girl, or rather an élève of that frail sisterhood, selected by Hyder at a very early age; declining health had now rendered her incapable of so active a charge.



fore determined, for the repose of his conscience, and the security of his family, to make this dying declaration. The fortune honourably made in his service was 50,000 pagodas or 18,750*l.* which he invited Hyder to receive into the treasury on his death, and to leave his family in peace. According to English notions, every spark of humanity and honour must be extinct in the breast of a prince, who should despoil the family of a faithful servant, of a sum which the deceased might well be supposed to have fairly acquired. Hyder, on the contrary, conceived it an act of exemplary benevolence to accept the amount, without putting the family to the torture. Vencatapa was succeeded by another bramin named Chinneia, who was tortured, plundered, and dismissed, in 1768. His successor, Assud Ali Khan, a Nevayet, was the first Mussulman whom Hyder had ever employed in a civil office of trust and importance; he died in 1772, under the tortures which were inflicted, to extort money which he did not possess; and was considered an able and an honourable man. These examples were apparently calculated to produce one of two consequences; either that no person should be found to undertake the office. or that the acceptor should plunder without limit. Neither of these consequences ensued in the next successor, *Sellahyiet Khan*, another Nevayet, was a man of the purest integrity, but of talents not altogether equal to the situation in which he was placed. These reasons for his removal were openly assigned by Hyder, but measuring the principles of others by his own, he was not satisfied with the honest declaration of the minister, that he possessed 10,000 rupees, 1,250*l.* the exact sum with which he entered Hyder's service. He was imprisoned, but I think not tortured, and on his death-bed, about five months afterwards, made the same declaration; that exact sum was found in his house, and Hyder *took it* without the smallest compunction. The person now chosen to succeed

him was *Meer Sâdik*, who filled the same office on the capture of Seringapatam in 1799; he was taken from the situation of camp Cutwall, an office compounded of the functions of clerk of the market, police magistrate, and prévôt martial.

We have formerly\* had occasion to observe, that the department of police had at an early period been annexed to that of the post-office; Hyder had, at different intervals, corrected and improved the details of this office, and with the aid of his new minister *Shamia*, a bramin possessing all the cool acuteness necessary for giving efficiency to his plans, and unfettered by any scruples or compunctions that might obstruct their operation, not only perfected those arrangements for the prevention of crimes, which under all governments are indispensable to a firm administration; but superadded a system of external and domestic intelligence, which pervaded all foreign courts, and penetrated into the inmost recesses of every private dwelling in his own dominions. From the union of these two departments, of finance and police, he composed a special commission for the investigation of embezzlements; which was not only successful in the detection of actual frauds, but in establishing apparent proof of malversations which never existed. When a public officer of trust was delivered over to the department of torture (a branch of that of police) the reader has probably not inferred, that this was effected without some previous form: for the designation of *anche walla* (*post master*) the idiom of the day had substituted that of *puttee walla*, (*the man of statements*,) in consequence of the well understood practice of making out a fictitious statement, supported by fictitious vouchers, and abundance of witnesses in waiting, and exhibiting a balance against the unfortunate victim, of the sum which they calculated on being able to extract.

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\* Pp. 106, and 119.

Shamia excelled all his predecessors in every branch of these horrible duties; his false statements were so skilfully framed, as to bear in public durbar, where they were read, the semblance of truth and accuracy; and his new and horrible contrivances of torture spread a terror, which sometimes rendered their application unnecessary. That neither talents nor services, however eminent, shielded their possessor from the reach of this frightful inquisition, may be inferred from the single example of Apajee Ram, who actually did not possess half the sum demanded of him, and borrowed the remainder from his friends. He had executed all his trusts with the most scrupulous fidelity; he had rendered to Hyder an account of all the presents which he received in his missions, and had generally been allowed to retain them. Hitherto he had trusted to the force of probity alone; but on this occasion, he declared to a confidential friend,\* that he found it to be not only an unprofitable, but an impracticable virtue; and should henceforth avail himself without limit, of the licence to plunder, which the conduct of his master had now proclaimed. Military men alone escaped. Hyder's arrangements rendered it difficult for them to be rich; the habits of the profession are seldom those of accumulation: and the extension of such a system to them, would moreover have been unsafe. The superior scale of civil allowances was a topic of ordinary animadversion among them; and it may even be apprehended, that the officers in Hyder's army did not view with the generous indignation, which such scenes are calculated to excite, this mode of refunding emoluments, of which they were jealous. A military officer, a native of Constantinople, and a commandant of infantry, was indeed one of the most noted instruments of the department of torture; and the public notoriety of the number of persons who died under his hands,

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\* The late minister Poornea, who related it to the author.

could not restrain the puns and mongrel jests of the day. This person had been named *Roomee* from his country, and from his buffoonery *Zerreef*, a title which, on this occasion, was changed by common consent to *Roomee Zerre*, or Roomee the *money finder*. On these transactions one of my manuscripts has an observation which I shall copy verbatim ;—

“Those who had executed their respective trusts with moderation, and were really unable to pay the sum demanded, died under the torture : and those only escaped with life, who had enriched themselves by exaction, and were compelled to disgorge.” Some of the unfortunate persons of the first description saved their lives by prevailing on *sahoucars* (bankers) to become their securities. All Indian Governments are aware of the large profits made by these bankers, in consequence of their connection with the administration of the revenue : but a policy obvious to the darkest ignorance had hitherto preserved to them the privilege of security in the midst of exaction. The judgment of Hyder, true to his interests on most occasions, seems never to have been effectually obscured by any passion but avarice : he determined for the first time to levy a heavy contribution on the bankers ; and thus gave a destructive blow to all future confidence ; to the sources of commercial enterprize ; and to the means of availing himself on any future occasion of the monied interest of the country. Of the sum fixed upon to be exacted from the bankers, a balance remained, for the present unpaid, of twenty lacs of pagodas, 720,000*l.* : and the consequence of this stupid but effectual banishment of capital from his dominions, was evinced in the well known fact, that all the subsequent tortures inflicted by himself, and by his successor, failed to realize this balance.

A splendid embassy was in this year dispatched to Delhi, for the purpose of obtaining for Hyder, the imperial grants of the *soubadaree* of the two

Carnatics,\* in order that an exterior dignity which still commanded some respect, might accompany the possession of an authority, which he had now an early prospect of conferring on himself.

Political considerations had induced Monsieur Lally to leave the service of Bas&lut Jung for that of Nizam Ali, and he was now farther disposed to leave both for the service of Hyder. He had been detached towards Kurnool, and took that opportunity of coming over, with a force of 100 European infantry, 50 European cavalry, 1000 Native infantry, and two guns, about one-fifth of the number which he had stipulated to bring; in consequence of which Hyder reduced the stipulated pay of the officer commanding.

The Frenchman either outwitted himself, or was disappointed by his troops; his proposals of service had included

European infantry	....	500
Native ditto	....	5000
European cavalry	....	300
Guns ....	....	14

and, as the commandant of such a force, his monthly pay was fixed at 5000 rupees. When the first month's pay was issued he received 2000-rupees, he demanded an audience, and talked, and gasconaded. "Be quiet," said Hyder, "and be grateful for getting so much—you have not fulfilled your stipulation; and I have overpaid you in proportion to your numbers.—I do not give an officer 5000 rupees a month for the beauty of his single nose."

A more convenient occasion may not occur for explaining, that neither in Hyder's nor in Tippoo's government was the issue of military pay regulated by any calendar: the abstract or written statement of monthly pay, and hence in ordinary acceptation, the pay itself, was called a *puttee*, a Canarese word which properly signifies a written statement of any

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\* Vijayapoor and Hyderabad.

kind. The Hindoo calendar, for the purpose of its numerous lunar\* fasts and festivals, attempts to reconcile the solar year with the lunar months, the difference being adjusted, at the proper intervals, by an intercalary *month*, which rectifies the calendar. These are mournful revisions for an Indian army; for the leap year contains a thirteenth or supernumerary month, which has no pay annexed to it, and by the soldiers is nicknamed the *stone* month, stones, as they observe, being the only food provided for them. Hyder made it a merit to abolish the periodical discontents of the *stone* month, but substituted an arrangement no less beneficial to the treasury; instead of one monthly *puttee* he issued to the infantry two *half-puttees* in each month of account. The great convenience of this arrangement to the improvident soldiers, reconciled them to the artificial postponements, for which, festivals, Mahommedan or Hindoo furnished such numerous apologies. A postponement of one or two days in each half month, was scarcely noticed—double that number at the end of a month would have been a more prominent source of inconvenience and discontent. But in process of time the periodical return of the *half-puttee* crept on from sixteen, its original number, sometimes to twenty days; thus reducing the year of account to nine or ten months. The troops were habituated, from the first, to some irregularity in the period, and there was no calculation of arrears; it was a fixed rule, that whenever a *puttee*, or *half-puttee*, was issued, it was a payment in full of all past demands.

To the Silledar<sup>1</sup> cavalry, or men mounted on

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\* Exclusively of the greater solemnities, there are two regular fasts in every month, the eleventh of the encreasing, and the same day of the waning moon

[This is the *Eka-dasi*.]

<sup>1</sup> *Silledar*.—Silladar. Hind. from Persian, *silah-dār*, "bearing or having arms," from Arab. *silah*, arms. Its Anglo-Indian application is to a soldier in a regiment of irregular cavalry, who

horses, which were their own property, a whole *puttee* was issued once in thirty-five, and afterwards in forty, or even forty-five days, under this singular arrangement, that they received rupees of account, calculated at two-thirds of the actual value. These *puttees* were called *bees rost*, or *puttees* of twenty days; namely, two-thirds of such a month as ought to have been reckoned and paid for, the remaining third was an arrear to be settled at the end of the year, or sometimes of two years; and the mode of paying these arrears was always in turbans, silks, chintzes, or articles obtained in plunder, perhaps by the very men to whom they were returned, and estimated to the troops at about double their actual value. These troops were allowed to retain half the plunder they brought in, and the knowledge that they themselves were to be again plundered in this form, was their justification for defrauding the government to the utmost extent in their power. During Hyder's government this was difficult, under Tippoo exactly the reverse.

To the stable horsemen, as those were designated who were mounted on horses the property of the state, the rupee of account was not issued, and there were no arrears; the payments were regulated on the same principle as those of the infantry, except that they received their *puttee* at the same periods as the Silledar horse. During Tippoo's government, up to the termination of the English war in 1792, the troops of every description received at the rate of nine, and sometimes ten *puttees* in the year; after that period, the number was sometimes as low as seven.

Hyder in this year opened a negotiation with Abd-ul-Heckeem Khan, the nabob of Savanoor, which

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provides his own arms and horse; and sometimes to regiments composed of such men. There used to be many such regiments in the Indian army, but since the great war they have been changed into regular cavalry.

terminated in a double marriage ; the eldest son of that nabob to Hyder's daughter \* ; and his second son, Kereem Saheb, to the daughter of Abd-ul-Heckeem. The half of Savanoor, which the Mahrattas had left in his possession, had after the conquest been restored by Hyder, on the annual tribute of four lacs of rupees : the remaining half was, on this occasion restored to the nabob, and the tribute reduced one half, on the condition of maintaining for Hyder's service, two thousand select Patán horse, to be commanded by two of the nabob's sons. Of the three Patán nabobs, who had made so great a figure in the transactions of the south, the troops, and the resources of two were now transferred to Hyder ; and the third of Kurnool † continued to be a doubtful dependent on Nizam Ali.

On the occasion of this double alliance, Abd-ul-Heckeem and his whole family visited Seringapatam ; Hyder went out to meet them, with the greatest demonstrations of respect ; and the marriages were solemnized, with a degree of splendor and magnificence, far surpassing all former example. Persons from all parts of the country assembled to witness the festivity. The whole capital was a continued scene of exterior joy and revelry ; but the operations of police were not intermitted ; and the groans from the dungeons were not permitted to disturb these unhallowed rejoicings:

From the period of the infraction by the English of the treaty of 1769, by repeatedly declining to afford the stipulated succour, Hyder had anxiously wished for a suitable opportunity to retaliate the wrong. But at this time, so far from having meditated the invasion of the succeeding year, his preparations were exclusively directed to resist the

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\* The most notorious scold in the south of India.

† At one time this unfortunate chief found it necessary to pay tribute to three powers ; the Mahrattas—Nizam Ali—and Mysoor.



formidable invasion, which the ministerial faction of Poona Mahrattas, after the conventional surrender of an English army at Worgaum,<sup>1</sup> and the capture of their opponent Ragoba, had not only meditated, but openly announced to the English, with whom they considered their differences to be adjusted. We shall presently have occasion to revert to those transactions, and in the mean while, it will be sufficient to state, that the escape of Ragoba on the 12th of June, from *Cholee Maheswer*, on the river Nerbudda, where he had been confined by Madajee Sindia, and his reception by General Goddard at Surat, suddenly induced the ministerial party at Poona to propose an union with Hyder, instead of prosecuting military operations against him, as they had previously determined.

It was in the midst of the marriage festivities, that an envoy, named Goneish Row<sup>2</sup> arrived, to offer to Hyder the congratulations of the infant *Sewai Madoo Row*, (the posthumous, or reputed son of *Narain Row*, whom the ministerial party had installed as Peshwa,) on these auspicious events. The letter of congratulation concluded, with referring to the verbal communications of the envoy, for the sentiments of the court, on matters of political importance; and a brief abstract of the discussions which ensued, may afford some light to guide us

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<sup>1</sup> *Worgaum*.—Wadgaon, is now the headquarter town of the Mawal taluka, Poona, and is situated on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, 23 miles north-west of Poona. (*Indian Gazetteer*, Bombay, 1909. Vol. I, pp. 503-4.) In 1778 the Bombay Government, in alliance with Ragoba, sent an expedition towards Poona. It met with disaster and Colonel Camac, the Civil Commissioner, concluded the Convention of Wargaon (January 1779). Under the convention it was stipulated that British hostages should be given as security for the restoration to the Marathas of all acquisitions made since 1773, and for the surrender of Ragoba. Ragoba made a separate agreement with Sindia and gave himself up to him. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, pp. 90-93.)

<sup>2</sup> *Goneish Row*.—Ganesh Rao.

through the maze, both of past and subsequent events.

The envoy represented that the English, again espousing the cause of the murderer Ragoba, now a second time a fugitive, had made war on the Peshwa; that Hyder equally with the Mahrattas, had cause to complain of that nation, for a violation of their engagements; that Nizam Ali was equally well-disposed to the common cause; and that the period had arrived, when it was incumbent on the ruler of Mysoor, to unite with the powers of Decan, in taking effectual retribution; that it was necessary however as a preliminary measure, that the confederates should have the most perfect understanding with each other; that Hyder owed a balance of twenty-five lacs, on account of the treaty of Trimbuc Mama, besides an arrear of eight years' peshcush\* (tribute); that he had levied large sums on the poligars of Harponelly, and that vicinity, who were properly the tributaries of Poona; and lastly, that he had wrested from the Mahratta state, the whole of their territory between the Toombuddra and Kistna; and previously to entering on the offensive league, which was the ultimate object of the mission, it was necessary that he should evacuate the countries he had seized, and make an amicable composition of the pecuniary claims.

On the part of Hyder, it was replied, in the first instance, that the poligars in question were the regular dependants of *Sera*; that the grant of the countries between the rivers had been made to him for a valuable consideration, by Ragoba, the heir, and actual head of the Government; and that the account of the tribute had been adjusted with the same person, and the balance acknowledged to be paid,† through the medium of Baageè Row Búrva his accredited envoy.

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\* *Peshcush*, from *Pesh kusheeden*, (Pers.) to bring forward or present; the word thus, originally signified an offering, and in its subsequent use, the *voluntary gift* became a *tribute*.

† He had actually paid sixteen lacs.

Goneish Row retorted, that Ragonaut Row was a murderer, and an expelled usurper, who had fled to foreigners for refuge, and that his concessions were notoriously of no validity.

To these allegations it was replied, that Hyder left it to the contending parties, to decide which of them ought to be considered as *usurpers* ; and had no intention to dispute the rights which by the actual possession of the Government, the ministerial party had for the present acquired ; or to acknowledge, or reject, the filiation of the present *Peshwa* ; but that it was a foul calumny to brand as a murderer, Ragoba, who had actually received a wound in the defence of the person with whose murder he was charged ; and that while the convocation of pregnant females, shut up in Poorunder with the widow of Narain Row, had not yet determined whether they should be able to produce a male infant among them, it was absurd to question the validity of the acts of the lineal heir, and actual possessor of the power of the state.

Such were the leading features of a discussion, which terminated in an agreement, that the grants of Ragoba to Hyder should be confirmed, with regard to the territory between the rivers ; all past demands were declared to be discharged ; eleven lacs of rupees was fixed as the annual payment to be henceforth made by Hyder for the whole of his possessions, (that for the current year to be paid in advance,) and on these conditions, Hyder engaged to put forth his whole force, to combine with the confederates, for the expulsion of the English nation from India. Nizam Ali invading the northern Circars ; the Mahrattas of Berar, Malwa and the more northern parts of Hindostan, attacking the territories of Bengal, and Bahar ; those of Poona and the south operating on the side of Bombay ; while Hyder, accompanied by 2000 chosen Mahrattas, rather as a guard of observation, than an aid, should direct his whole

force towards Madras. The detail of these negotiations was adjusted at Seringapatam ; at their conclusion, Noor Mahommed Khan and Narain Row, accompanied Goneish Row to Poona, as the vakeels or ambassadors of Hyder, who commenced the most active preparations for the serious performance of his part of the compact.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

*Retrospect of Hyder's relations with the English, since 1769—Disgraceful intrigues of Mahommed Ali in England—Direct negotiation with the ministry—who send out Sir John Lindsay as ambassador—Unites in Mahommed Ali's views for the infraction of the treaty with Hyder—Error of the treaty of 1769 now practically discovered in 1770—Discussions regarding Tanjore—siege of that place in 1771—Trimbuc Mama threatens to relieve it—bought off by Mahommed Ali—and sold to both parties—Mahommed Ali fabricates a mock Mahratta invasion—Deception unveiled—Strange proceedings of the royal negotiator—Able statement of the nature of the English connexion with Mahommed Ali—Proposal of the Mahrattas in 1771 to unite with Hyder for the conquest of the South and East—Manly and candid avowals of Hyder to the English—His most advantageous offers rejected—through the influence of Mahommed Ali—Hyder's unfavourable treaty with the Mahrattas in 1772—the consequence of his adherence to these political principles—Tanjore taken by the English in 1773—Hyder's embassy to Madras—renews his offers of alliance—again frustrated by Mahommed Ali—Resentment of the Mahrattas for the capture of Tanjore—Mahommed Ali sends an embassy to Hyder—a mere mockery—they are dismissed in 1775 with an explicit intimation of Hyder's sentiments—Mahommed Ali occupies and improves the fortress of Tanjore—raises an army—determines on resistance to the orders for its restitution—fails when the time arrives—restored to the Raja by Lord Pigot in 1776—cabal of private creditors,*

and Mahommed Ali obtains the revolutionary arrest of Lord Pigot in the same year—durst not proceed the meditated length of restoring Tanjore—English connexions with the Mahrattas—Colonel Upton's treaty of 1776—Ragoba—Designs of the French connexion with Hyder—with Poona through Mr. St. Lubin, 1777—A party at Poona propose to restore Ragoba—consequent treaty of Bombay—confirmed by Mr. Hastings—correct and enlarged views of that statesman—Diplomatic and military measures, 1778—Designs of the French—discovered—and anticipated—Tardy and weak measures at Bombay—Field deputies—Army advances—is foiled—Convention of Wargaum—disavowed by the Governor of Bombay—Army under Goddard crosses to Surat—Ministerial party at Poona make advances for peace, 1779—and avow their design of marching against Hyder—Escape of Ragoba to General Goddard, changes their politics, and makes them unite with Hyder as above related—Relations with Nizam Ali—Guntoor Sircar and Bazlut Jung—Erroneous views in the connexion of Madras with that chief—March a corps to join him—opposed by Hyder—Returns—Resentment of Nizam Ali—appeased by the wise measures of Mr. Hastings—Return from digression—Correspondence of Hyder with Madras in 1778—evades negotiation—English at length desirous of a treaty with Hyder—but the period had passed away—Capture of Pondicherry stated—that of Mâhè announced, 1779—Hyder explicitly avows hostility in that event—Mâhè with Hyder's colours displayed with those of the French, falls—Hyder's open declarations of intended hostility—Mission of Schwartz to Hyder—Strange mystery never explained—Mission of Mr. Grey—Negotiation fails—Reiterated hostile declarations of Hyder—Torpor at Madras—roused by the invasion.

**T**HE complex character of the transactions in which Hyder had been engaged with the native powers, since the conclusion of his treaty with the English in 1769, has suggested the convenience of reserving for a separate retrospect an account of his relations with that state during the same period, in order that we may be enabled to take a distinct and unbroken view of its political condition, at the period of the impending war, which threatened the utter extinction of the British power in India.

The sovereignty of the treaty of Paris in 1763, discovered and communicated to Mahommed Ali by an European adviser, suggested to him the mission of an agent to England in the year 1767,<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of establishing a separate interest in the administration and legislature of that country. To open a direct intercourse with the sovereign of England; to throw off the control of the local English Government, and render it subordinate to himself; to hold the balance between the French and English nations in India; to render them severally his instruments of imperial conquest, afterwards of their own mutual destruction, and ultimately to expel them both,\* were the views which at intervals undesignedly unfolded themselves in a long and laboured course of intrigue; in which

<sup>1</sup> "The Nawab Walajah, yearning to be actually, as well as nominally, an independent prince, appointed Mr. John Macpherson, lately a purser of one of the Company's ships, to go to England as his agent, and seek the king's protection against the Company." (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*. Vol. III, p. 47. *Mackenzie Collection*. Vol. IV, 22nd January 1776.) This was in 1767. He was subsequently appointed to a writership in Madras, but was dismissed by Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras, in 1776. Afterwards he was sent out by the Directors to replace Barwell on the Bengal Council and succeeded Warren Hastings in 1785, as Governor-General.

\* I have stated no inference that does not appear to me to be proved by written documents and indisputable facts, known to persons now living.

English gentlemen could make open and undisguised offers of their services to become Directors\* of the East India Company, and members of a more august assembly, to a nabob of Arcot, a pageant, if possible, more deceived than deceiving, who is stated to have returned † eight members in one British Parliament.

Services ‡ performed and to be performed in this unhallowed cause, assumed the portentous shape of an overwhelming *private* debt, chargeable by the legislative authority of Great Britain on the revenues of Arcot, to the direct prejudice of national claims :

\* Documents adverted to in p. 608 of this volume.

† Burke's speech on the Carnatic debts, the only performance of that great man on India affairs, which abounds in solid truth, as well as splendid eloquence. Mr. Burke himself was, however, not a mere spectator in the Indian transactions of that period. A complete history of the internal policy of those times, would be highly curious and instructive to the reader ; but as yet too obnoxious, "*recentibus odiis*," for a compiler of this day. The materials are perfectly accessible.

‡ Besides the speculative property in bonds, for the repayment of money *not lent* ; there were more solid remunerations. Three members of the Council of Government of Madras, obtained a large assignment of territorial revenue in 1767, which gradually emerged to light in the two succeeding years. The Court of Directors comment on the transaction, in the following terms : "the servants of the Company, &c. &c. have in this instance unfaithfully betrayed their trust ; abandoned the Company's interest ; and prostituted its influence to accomplish the purpose of individuals, whilst the interest of the Company is almost totally neglected, and payments to us rendered extremely precarious."

These transactions afford some partial explanation of two facts relative to the war of 1767 ; 1st, the want of funds for conducting it, and 2d, the unhappy prevalence of Mahommed Ali's councils in its mismanagement. It is not intended to class all the debts of Mahommed Ali in one and the same unprincipled mass. A few had an honourable origin.

[The three Members of Council referred to were, John Pybus, John Call and James Bourchier. They were trustees for the consolidated debt of 1767 which stood originally at 22 lakhs of pagodas or £880,000.]



a British administration subverted and undermined the constituted authorities in India, by giving the sanction of the royal authority to a plenipotentiary charged with independent, indefinite, and unintelligible powers, to the native states. Majesty was degraded by affixing the royal signatures to letters addressed, as to an equal, to this factitious sovereign of English manufacture. An ambassador, (Sir John Lindsay,) with concealed powers, was deputed in the ostensible character of the commander of a frigate, and decorated with a ribbon and star of the Order of the Bath, a representative of the sovereign of Great Britain to Mahommed Ali. With these dignities, the ambassador burst at once upon the governor and council, as if by ambuscade; and became from that time a partizan of this foreign power to which he was deputed, against the delegated government of his own nation.<sup>1</sup>

When Hyder, on the invasion of Mysoor by Madoo Row in 1770, demanded from the Government of Madras the execution of the treaty of 1769, the erroneous conception of Mr. Du Pre in negotiating the 2d article of that treaty began to be distinctly unfolded. Mahommed Ali whose views required the extinction of Hyder as the very first step in his march of general conquest; reminded the government that being no party to that treaty, he was not bound to furnish funds for its execution. (It will be recollected that he had fraudulently refused to execute

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the events which led to the extraordinary position of Sir John Lindsay in Madras, Mill's *History*, Book V, Chap. IV, should be consulted. "Sir John Lindsay was appointed, by commission under the great seal, His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, with powers to negotiate and conclude arrangements, with the Indian sovereigns in general." Josias Du Pré, the Governor, writes to Robert Palk, October 4th, 1770: "The wovernment send Sir John Lindsay to threaten and awe us, to Grest all our actions into crimes and to support the Nabob (perverse enough before) against all our measures;" (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, pp. 137-138.)

according to compact the instrument of his participation.) And the King's plenipotentiary ever acting in unison with Mahommed Ali, upbraided the Government with the circumstances under which it was concluded, as an argument to impeach its validity ; "the time when, the place where, the peace was made," are the insinuations of the minister ; "a peace (as the Directors afterwards remark,) to which the want of aid from *his idol* compelled us ;" "such (as they emphatically observe,) are the honours, &c. (of the royal mission) the honour of humbling the East India Company before the throne of Mahommed Ali Khan."\* The nabob and royal plenipotentiary urged not merely a passive infraction of the treaty, but its active violation, without one assignable pretext, by uniting with Madoo Row for the destruction of Hyder ; and the Government finding itself pledged to all the practical evils of an offensive alliance with Hyder, which they had so carefully professed to avoid ; feeling the impossibility of executing the treaty in opposition to the nabob and the representative of Majesty, and resolved not to destroy the power which they were bound by treaty to defend ; evaded the whole question, by representing both to Hyder and the Mahrattas the necessity of waiting for the result of a reference which they had made on the subject to their superiors in England.

A long and mysterious reserve, assumed by Mahommed Ali, in consequence of the refusal of the Government to accede to his designs, suddenly changed about the beginning of the year 1771, to the 1771. most open and confidential communication, as the prelude to an under-plot which required the employment of the Company's army. A question raised into serious notice, by the gold of the contending parties, and the zeal of their envoys, for many years

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\* Company's Records.

caused the British press to teem with the crudities of its European advocates, namely, whether, "according to the constitution of the Mogul empire," the Raja of Tanjour were the subject of Mahommed Ali, or an independent prince—whether a creature of the imagination had assigned to one or the other of two usurpers the right to oppress a foreign people. The only constitutional dependence of this Raja, was on the Mahratta state; and this dependence, which the Mahrattas uniformly claimed, and he acknowledged, made him the deputy of an usurping deputy. According to the law of the strongest, the actual payment of tribute had practically established the claim of Mahommed Ali to its continuance as long as he should continue to be the strongest. Long priority of usurpation, and a more just and lenient government, if such a claim were happily available in such discussions, were on the side of the Raja; and he was encouraged by the vicinity of his countrymen, then campaigning in Mysoor, to resist the demand. The nabob required from the British Government an army to enforce it; and they for the first time desired, before a force should be assembled, to be satisfied regarding the resources from which the expenses were to be paid. These were of necessity adjusted, and the army moved in September, 1771, for the siege of Tanjour. The Raja had paid Trimbuc Row five lacs in advance, on the promise of his marching to raise the siege; and that chief had drawn from the warfare in Mysoor, a considerable body, which threatened to descend into the province of Arcot; but four lacs from Mahommed Ali arrested their progress. The siege was considerably advanced, but was raised on the 15th of November, on the payment to Mahommed Ali of a large contribution. Trimbuc Row, like a true Mahratta, had sold himself to both parties, and Mahommed Ali was enabled by the compromise, to make a merit with the Poona Mahrattas, the ostensible lords paramount of Tanjour, of

having desisted from the capture of that place out of pure deference to their friendship. But the mysteries of the scene were not yet completed. Although the Government of Madras, had openly announced to Hyder, and to the Mahrattas, the receipt of answers Jan. 1772. to their reference to England, which positively prohibited their assistance to either ; they were still to be frightened into the belief of a Mahratta invasion, for the purpose of compelling them to join in the destruction of Hyder ; and by a secret understanding, the Mahrattas even proceeded to plunder a part of the territory of Arcot ; but Mahommed Ali, by declining the aid of the British troops for their expulsion, unveiled and terminated the deception.\*

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\* See the extracts immediately following.

[The unfortunate position of the Madras Government is very clearly explained in the following letter from John Maxwell Stone, at this time Secretary in the Military and Political Department, Madras, dated April 4th, 1772, to Robert Palk (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, pp. 180-184): "Our situation for these two or three years past has indeed been very distressing and perplexing, and my wonder can only be equalled by the satisfaction I feel to find that we have got thus far in safety. Great merit is due to Mr. Du Prè, who, notwithstanding all the embarrassments and difficulties with which he was surrounded, notwithstanding the disagreeable and vexatious altercations he has been obliged to maintain with the Nabob, His Majesty's Ministers and General Coote, could persevere with such steadiness and resolution in the line he first laid down." . . . .

"Sir John Lindsay did not cease plaguing us till the end of July last, when it may be supposed he had got as much as he could expect, and the news arrived of Sir Robert Harland's being appointed to succeed him with plenipotentiary powers. The Squadron arrived here the beginning of September, and Sir Robert Harland immediately upon his landing laid before the Board his plenipotentiary powers and instructions, the sum and substance of which were,—to see that the Treaty of Paris of 1763 had not been infringed, and to receive from the Nabob any complaints he might have to make, and transmit them to the Ministry. These powers, which we understand were the same with Sir John Lindsay's, could not, you will say, authorize the steps taken by the Minister. However, by a very extraordinary construction put on the 11th article of the Treaty of Paris, they

During this scene of childish fraud, the royal plenipotentiary, under the guidance of Mahommed Ali, opened a diplomatic correspondence with Trimbuc Row, of the progress of which, during its existence, the local government was kept in profound ignorance, but at its close were gravely informed by the royal envoy, "that he had proposed to the Mahrattas, in His Majesty's name, a cessation of hostilities between their nation, the English, and the nabob of Arcot, until His Majesty's pleasure should be known; and

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were used to that end. The Nabob, by the interpretation given to that article, is deemed an ally of the Crown of Great Britain, and as such has a right to the support and protection of the Crown. In virtue of which the Minister took upon him to urge the Government to such measures as the Nabob should dictate. You, I dare say, will be surprized at this forced construction put upon that article, and the arguments used in consequence, as you are well acquainted with the cause of that article being inserted, which was evidently with no other intent than to put it out of the power of the French to set up Chunda Saib's son, or any other pretender to the Phousdary of the Carnatic in opposition to the Nabob. If the interpretation now given to the article be admitted, the Nabob is equally an ally of the Crown of France as of Great Britain as they are both equally bound by the Treaty to acknowledge him for Nabob; and it is incumbent on England and France to support him against all the world, even against the Mogul and the Soubah, to whom, by the custom of the Empire and his own acknowledgment, he is subject. You will, I am certain, see the impropriety, I may say the absurdity, of this doctrine. But what will you say when I tell you that the Directors have adopted the like notions, which has been the cause of much embarrassment to us in our transactions with the Nabob; which must in the end prove very detrimental to the Company's affairs; and I may venture to pronounce, without pretending to the gift of prophecy, that it is impossible matters can long remain in the present situation. The Company must adopt some uniform plan and system in their connexions with the Nabob, or give him up entirely. The defence and protection of the Carnatic rests on them, while the resources are in the Nabob's hands, who refuses to furnish the means necessary for that purpose, and counteracts and opposes every measure of this Government. There was a time when the arguments which worked upon his hopes or fears had some weight, but he now hears everything with the utmost seeming

that he *understood from the nabob* that they (the Mahrattas) had acceded to these proposals and withdrawn their troops."—"Would it not (say the Gov- Feb 29.  
ernment of Madras) have been more conformable to circumstances to have said, that the Mahrattas were desirous, in His Majesty's name, to cease hostilities against the nabob; for neither the English nor the nabob have committed any hostilities against them: the nabob would not even consent to our moving an army to protect his borders, which the

indifference. He no longer looks up to the Company as his friends and supporters, but places his whole confidence in the aid of the Crown. His drift seems to be to flag off one against the other, by which means he hopes to free himself from any dependance on the Company; and when he has gained sufficient strength he flatters himself with the idea of entire independancy. These, my dear Sir, are my thoughts of the consequences of the present system, or rather want of system with the Nabob, which I communicate in confidence to you . . . . The arrival of the *Lord Holland* gave the Governor and Council an opportunity of acting as they had long wished to do with regard to the Morattas and Hyder Ally. The latter has not ceased to solicit our assistance, and the Morattas had constantly demanded it with threats, in which they were supported by the Nabob and his Majesty's Minister. The Board were fully determined not to assist the Morattas, from the dangerous consequences to be apprehended from an increase of their power; and the Nabob could never be prevailed on to take any measures in favour of Hyder Ally. Thus circumstanced, the Governor and Council thought it expedient to return no decisive answer to either, and to inform both that we should be guided by the orders we might receive from England. Indeed we had so long made use of evasions that it was impossible that they could have availed us any longer and we must have been obliged to have declared openly in favor; of the one or the other, or our resolution to remain neuter. The arrival of the orders by the *Lord Holland* put us out of suspense, and we no longer hesitated to declare plainly both to the Morattas and Hyder Ally that we were not empowered to afford assistance to either. When the Nabob found that neither his solicitations, the threats of the Minister, nor the fear of a Moratta invasion could induce the Governor and Council to adopt his favourite plan of joining the Morattas, he then, and not till then, set earnestly to work to prevent their ravaging the Province. They had already advanced to the borders, and some

Mahrattas were plundering, while we remained peaceful spectators.”—“Why (they continue) an answer hath not been returned by the Mahratta general to the minister of the crown, who, in the name of the King condescended to make the proposal; or whether it be consistent with the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain, to be only an instrument in the hands of the nabob of the Carnatic, it may not become us to enquire.” The same able performance\* contains

parties had actually entered the country and plundered some villages. The negotiation was begun and concluded in a few days, and the Morattas retired into the Balaghaut on the other side of the hills, and were by the last accounts near Syringapatam. We know not on what terms they consented to withdraw, as the Nabob industriously conceals from us every transaction; but we have heard that he only paid them the four lacks of rupees which remained due of the agreement made in 1760. The ease with which the Nabob settled this business, and that too at a season of the year the most favourable for the Morattas to lay waste the country, confirmed the suspicions we had long entertained that the Morattas had been encouraged, if not invited, by the Nabob himself to threaten this Province in order to frighten or compell us into an alliance with them. And indeed a circumstance came to light in the course of the correspondence which afforded further cause for our suspicions. It appeared that the Nabob had obtained from the Morattas a promise of the cession of the Barhamall country and of the fort of Syringapatam in case he could prevail on us to assist in reducing Hyder Ally; and although he could not be ignorant how little dependance was to be placed on such a promise from the Morattas, it has certainly great weight with him in his political system. Notwithstanding the Morattas had advanced to the very borders of the Province, and we received daily accounts of villages plundered by them, nothing we could urge could prevail on the Nabob to consent that the army, which was returned from before Tanjour to Trichinopoly, should move to some central position to protect the country. We could take no measures without his concurrence, because we had neither the means of paying or subsisting the troops in the field; and because, as the country is the Nabob's, we can attempt nothing for its security without his consent, as we should make ourselves responsible for all consequences, which, considering the present temper of the times, might be hazarding too much.”

\* General letter to England, 28th February, 1772.

the following judicious observations, on the nature of the English connection with Mahommed Ali, "Without money or resources, your apparent strength is real weakness; and if we must continue to be charged with the defence of an extensive country, the maintenance of a numerous army, and the support of an intricate political system, without authority, without the command of money or provisions, and without consequence, and what is still worse, in opposition to the power who commands all these: such a system is not to be varnished with specious descriptions; it may subsist for a while on the accidental weakness and embarrassments of our neighbours, but unless some effectual remedy be applied, it must sooner or later end in ruin."

While the Government of Madras were thus restrained by insuperable impediments from the performance of their engagements to Hyder, and Mahommed Ali was thus obstructed by the talents and virtues of M. Du Pre, in his views of uniting with the Mahrattas; that state, whose direct object was the entire subjugation of the south, proposed to Hyder to compromise their differences, and unite for the conquest of the lower countries, to the eastward. Hyder made known these proposals to the English Government; stated that he considered an union with the Mahrattas, to be directly contrary to his interest; and the conquest of Arcot, through the medium of Mysoor, to involve his own inevitable ruin; that he had hitherto opposed their unreasonable demands on Mysoor, in the confident hope of receiving from the English, the aid stipulated by treaty, and would continue resistance as long as hope should remain; that he was aware of the influence which had hitherto prevented their performance of the compact; that he was willing to forget the causes of personal animosity towards Mahommed Ali, and to hope that the English would mediate a reconciliation; he authorized his envoys to propose, as the condition



of prompt and effectual aid, the immediate payment of twenty lacs of rupees, and the cession to the English of the provinces of BāramanAl, Salem and Ahtoor; and finally, the ambassadors were directed openly to announce, in the event of the rejection of all these advances, Hyder's reluctant determination to throw himself on the French for support.\* To these ingenuous proposals, the Government felt themselves unable to make a suitable return; Mahommed Ali admitted the correctness of Hyder's statement regarding the views of the Mahrattas; but "that the friendship of the English ought not to be purchased with money," was an effusion of political Quixotism, not very advisedly risked, by the author of that breach of faith, which produced the sordid substitution of interested motives; and who in the whole of his connexion with the English nation, had uniformly tarnished their proudest trophies, with moral shame and political dishonour. Hyder evinced the earnestness and the soundness of his political views, by afterwards consenting to the humiliating peace which we have described in preference to the delusive strength which was offered to him by the Mahrattas, in their proposal for a joint conquest of Draurveda.

June  
1773.

We have incidentally noticed the mission to Madras, which Hyder deemed material to his interests, when preparing to avail himself of the intestine commotions of the Mahratta state; the same circumstances had suggested to Mahommed Ali, the present moment, as the most favourable, for realizing his long projected design of possessing the fort and territory of Tanjour. An English army under General Joseph Smith, equipped with the means of a regular siege, arrived before the place on the 6th of August, and carried it by assault on the 17th of September. This new ground of jealousy between

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\* In October. 1771.

Mahommed Ali and the Mahrattas, augmented the hopes of Hyder with regard to the success of his mission : his ambassadors \* arrived at Madras in December 1773, and opened their proposals ; which were simply for a treaty (renewing the violated conditions of 1769,) to be executed by the English, by Hyder, and Mahommed Ali, and by the two latter to be confirmed by an oath on the Korân. Mahommed Ali repeated his former objections to this alliance, and placed in the front of his argument, a reason from which ordinary statesmen would have deduced an opposite conclusion ; namely, that the Mahrattas, confessedly entertaining views of conquest over the whole south, would be too strong for the united forces of the allies. In the course of discussion however, he admitted, that after the capture of Tanjour, the Mahrattas would cease to place reliance in his promises ; and that it would be wise to strengthen himself, by an alliance with Hyder. So long as these apprehensions continued, he seemed to yield to the opinions of the Government of Madras, regarding the impolicy of encreasing a power already too formidable ; he passed with facility to the most gracious deportment towards Hyder's ambassadors ; he overwhelmed them with assurances of the most inviolable confidence and friendship, to the extent of unfolding all his designs, for the extension of the true faith ; and " the delight† with which they should hereafter mutually view, from the terrace on which they were then seated, the expulsion of the last infidel Englishman over the surf which foamed at their feet ;" he even submitted to the Government the draft of his project for a treaty : in which it is worthy of remark, that he proposed, as a special article, that the subjects of each who might *fly away*

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\* Aly Zeman Khân and Mhedee Aly Khân.

† Letter of the ambassadors to Hyder, found at Seringapatam in 1799. Mahommed Ali, however, made known to the government, that he *affected* an exclusive attachment to Hyder.

*in disgust* should be reciprocally given up; confirming with his own hand, a fact which I have stated on other grounds of information, that his interior rule was more oppressive than even that of Hyder Ali. The negotiations were continued; and when Ragomant Row in 1774 was proceeding south after his advantageous peace with Nizam Ali, he shewed his keen resentment for the capture of Tanjour, and the general character of his designs, by the demands which preceded his approach. First to join in the extirpation of Hyder second, to restore Tanjour; "which belongs to the Sahoo\* Rajah:" third, to pay choute, (a fourth part of the revenue,) and Ser Deshmoukee (an additional tenth); claims which we shall hereafter attempt to unravel; but the intrigues at Poona compelled him to return; and a series of adventures, not within the direct scope of our design, which were encountered by that chief would furnish abundant materials for a separate and interesting narrative. Successive and groundless apprehensions of treachery in the moment of victory, seem to have been the bane of his political career; and the abundant occupation of the Mahratta state in these intestine broils, relieved Mahommed Ali from his more immediate fears, and disposed him to resume his former political views.

The British act of parliament of 1773. binding other remote benefits, had perhaps suggested to His Majesty's ministers the expediency of revoking the powers of their Indian plenipotentiary which certainly had not been creditable to the wisdom of their councils; and the same act, in its immediate result, had rendered it necessary that the Government of Madras to refer, for the sanction of the Government General at Bengal, the proposed alliance with Hyder; but imperfect communications and inexplicable delays, protracted their decision: ambas-

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\* The pageant Mahratta sovereign, imprisoned at Sittore

sadors\* sent by Mahommed Ali to Seringapatam immediately after the return of the Mysoreans, endeavoured to amuse Hyder with successive evasions; but in May 1775 that sagacious chief disgusted with procrastination, and distinctly perceiving the secret workings of the same crooked policy, which had uniformly impeded his alliance with the English, dismissed the envoys, with a civil letter, intimating, in polite terms, that as the climate appeared to be unfavourable to their health, he could not subject them to farther inconvenience: but in his personal audience of leave, he was sufficiently explicit: "you are respectable men" (said he) "and have acted in conformity to your orders; for seventeen months you have practised evasion, till you are ashamed of the part you have to perform: I will relieve you from the embarrassment, for I will no longer be trifled with; your master is desirous of shortening the thread of amity, but the time is not distant, when he will be glad to renew the advances which I have condescended to press upon him in vain: I have sincerely wished for an alliance in that quarter, but I must do without it, and you must return and say so." One of the envoys was a man of intelligence and observation, and his recorded report on his return, of the views and intentions of Hyder, was absolutely prophetic of every event that subsequently occurred from 1775 to 1780.

The capture of Tanjour had infused the greatest activity into all Mahommed Ali's projects of sovereign rule; he improved the fortifications of that place at an enormous expence; garrisoned it with his own troops; and augmented his regular force to twelve thousand sepoys, seven regiments of cavalry, and fifteen hundred artillery; the whole of which had now attained a respectable degree of discipline and efficiency, under officers, on whose fidelity to their new master, the absurd confidence was appar-

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\* Aly Nawaz Khan and Seyed Futtah Ali

ently reposed, of relying on an oblivion of their prior and paramount duties as Englishmen. His plans being matured, he stated to the Governor, in a public conference, that his second son Ameer-'ul-Omra, who had organized this force, was about to proceed to assume the command of Tanjour; that he mentioned the circumstance, not for the purpose of asking advice, but of announcing the fact, as an independent\* sovereign. The intention must at this time have been either expressly known, or probably inferred; that early orders from England would arrive for restoring the country to the Raja; and if the notification we have stated had any meaning at all, it must have pointed to a resistance of these orders. Lord Pigot arrived in December, charged with their execution; and when the moment for decision arrived, Mahommed Ali discovering the †

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\* The sovereignty of the treaty of Paris, and the grants of the Mogul, were alternately used by Mahommed Ali, as the grounds of his pretensions; the former to alarm the English, regarding a guarantee without existence, and the latter, when it suited the argument, to represent his independence of all European power. The course of these discussions required that the former should be most prominent; he affirmed, that *he had never asked the Company to obtain for him the royal grants*, appointing him Nabob of Arcot, independent of the Soubadar of Decan. The absence of truth and modesty in this assertion, is sufficiently curious; but it is difficult to refrain from examining the question, whether, if these shadows of authority were to be employed at all, the English might not, with somewhat more of political foresight, (since it was equally easy,) have rendered themselves the sovereigns, and Mahommed Ali their deputy, or nabob.

† When the error was discovered, there was a second plan for getting rid of the European officers. Ameer-'ul-Omra, vain and weak, as he was ambitious and unprincipled, had an ill choice of confidants, and one of them unwarily betrayed the secret, that "in a few weeks the *Feringees*' (European officers,) heads would fly one way, and their *topees*, (hats,) another;" but he found that in this purpose also his instruments would fail him; the men would in preference have retorted such an order on its author. These facts, repeatedly stated to me in India, are supported by the information of one of those officers, now living, and in England.

erroneous grounds of his calculating on the treason of his English officers,<sup>1</sup> suffered all his mighty preparations to dissolve; the fort was occupied by British troops on the 9th February 1776; and Lord Pigot personally superintended the formal restoration of the Rajah's authority in the month of April.

A curious evidence of Mahommed Ali's designs was exhibited in his secret transactions with the East India Company of Denmark. A commission for military stores was given through Ameer 'ul Omra to the Danish Governor of Tranquebar<sup>2</sup>, and the first lot, amounting to seven thirteen-inch

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Wynch became Governor in succession to Du Prè in February 1773. In 1775 the Council resolved to prohibit the attendance of Europeans at the Durbar of the Nawab. General Joseph Smith dissented and in a minute (*Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. III, 1st July 1775,) he alluded to the organisation of the Nawab's army. "It has been the constant recommendation of every commanding officer to the Nabob to put his Army upon some footing of discipline. When his Army was to be depended on for the Service of the Company as well as himself, the want of it has often been felt very materially; and the Nabob, convinced of its propriety, entertained every English officer he could find, but refused the applications of Foreigners, and applied to this Government for officers to command and Discipline his Cavalry. We gave him some, and have since found the advantage of it. Those Regiments which are not commanded by our officers are filled with English gentlemen, who having left England in search of fortune, and not being provided for in the Company's service, their friends have recommended them to the Nabob." (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*. Vol. III, p. 57.)

<sup>2</sup> A village in the Mayavaram Taluq of Tanjore District, 143 miles S.S.W. of Madras. In 1616 the first Danish vessel that visited India was wrecked off Tranquebar. The Captain obtained for the Danish East India Company the village and a small area round it, for a rent of Rs. 4,000 payable to the Raja of Tanjore. In 1624, the place became the property of the King of Denmark. Tranquebar was taken by the English in 1807, but restored in 1814. In 1845 it was bought by the English from the Danes for Rs. 12,50,000. It was the first settlement of Protestant missionaries in India. The walls are still well preserved, and the former citadel is now used as a jail.

mortars, twenty-six brass field pieces, with a proportion of shells and shot, four thousand musquets and carbines, two thousand saddles, &c. &c. arrived at Tranquebar in 1776, *after* the restoration of that place to the Rajah by Lord Pigot. All practicable secrecy was observed with regard to these stores until Hyder's invasion in 1780, when Admiral Sir E. Hughes, at Mahommed Ali's request, caused them to be conveyed from Tranquebar to Madras : and Hyder, whose vigilance nothing could escape, obtaining information of the removal of stores belonging to his inveterate enemy, which he deemed to be his own lawful prize, threatened the capture of Tranquebar, and compromised for a fine amounting to about fourteen thousand pounds sterling, which was actually paid.

A singular correspondence ensued in and after 1776, regarding the payment for these stores, and for countermanding the farther orders which had been given, "the circumstances under which the order was dispatched, had unfortunately changed, and might never return ; but it was still of great importance that the transaction should be concealed from the English." Some instalments were tardily paid ; but on the assumption of Carnatic by the East India Company in 1801,<sup>1</sup> the Danes advanced their claim on that Company for the payment of the balance. In 1803, a negotiation was carried on in England, in the course of which the Danes were obliged to produce this secret correspondence as evidence of the debt ; and the English East India Company did accordingly discharge the balance then due, amounting to 42,304*l.*10*s.*

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Wellesley, after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, terminated the disastrous system of "double government," which had prevented the introduction of any real administrative reforms into the Carnatic, and held that the family of Nawab Muhammad Ali had forfeited its title to retain the rank of a ruling dynasty. The Madras Government took over the complete administration of the whole of the existing Presidency of Madras.

The powerful cabal of private creditors, who united with Mahommed Ali, for the revolutionary arrest of Lord Pigot in the succeeding August, could not dare to proceed the whole length of re-placing Tanjour in his possession.<sup>1</sup> The phantom of sovereignty had suffered a rude assault; but the delusive hope of retrieving the blow, continued to be cherished, in a subtle but weak mind, by a series of corrupt and interested deceptions: a material ground of difference with the Mahrattas, was however removed; and Mahommed Ali returned with ardor to his former policy of retrieving all past misfortunes, by uniting with them, for the destruction of Hyder, and his other enemies.

While the intrigues of Mahommed Ali, were thus preparing for the English the hostility of Hyder, their transactions with the Mahratta states were encompassing them with additional dangers. Ragoba, supported by some of the most powerful chiefs of the Mahratta state, is supposed to have taken a groundless alarm, in ascribing to them a participation in the treachery of his Arab troops in 1775,<sup>2</sup> which

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Pigot, who had been Governor of Madras as Mr. George Pigot from January 1755 to November 1763, resumed the office of Governor in 1776, December 11th, after the recall of Mr. Alexander Wynch, who was removed from the office by the Director, on account of the deposition of the Rajah of Tanjore, and the transfer of his state to the Nawab. Lord Pigot was opposed by the majority of his Council in his measures for the reinstatement of the Rajah. The struggle between the Governor with a minority of his Council, and the remainder of the Council, resulted in the arrest of the Governor and his death on the 11th May 1777, after having been in confinement for almost ten months. A full account of the transactions which led to Lord Pigot's arrest can be read in Mill's *History*, Book V, Chap. IV, and Colonel Love, in *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III, pp. 84-122, prints several original papers dealing with the occurrences, while in Colonel Love's *Report on the Palk Manuscripts* will be found many letters from persons in Madras written in 1776 giving the local impressions on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> On the 7th March 1775, the Bombay-Government signed a peace with Raghunath Rao (Raghoba) in Guzerat, in which the



induced him, as we have noticed, to fly to Cambay, and thence to Surat, and ultimately to proceed to Bombay; this imprudence left an open field to the ministers at Poona, who founded their authority on the custody of the reputed posthumous son of the late Peshwa, a third gradation in the scale of usurpation; the guardians, or gaolers of the doubtful son of an usurper. The treaty of Colonel Upton, concluded with these ministers on the 1st of March 1776, among other conditions assigned a provision in a distant part of the Mahratta dominions, for Ragoba, who was in return to quit Bombay, and not to be supported by the English in any future efforts to disturb the government of the ministers.<sup>1</sup> But that person protested against the treachery of thus delivering him up to the hands of his enemies: he claimed at least the protection offered to an ordinary resident, so long as he should give no political offence; and the Government of Bombay, who reprobated the whole transaction, were glad to rest their compliance with the request of Ragoba, on the powerful plea of common humanity.

In the mean while, the political preparations of the French, for the recovery of their lost ascendancy in India, were extended in every possible direction.

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Government pledged themselves to assist him. Before that date, in February, Colonel Keating with a detachment had sailed from Bombay, but in the meantime Ragunath Rao, who was besieging Baroda, had had to raise the siege and retire before the troops of Holkar and Scindia, who attacked him near the village of Wassud and then in February 1775, his Arab troops refused to fight, and he fled to Cambay and from there to Surat, where on the 27th February Colonel Keating and his detachment arrived. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, pp. 31-32.)

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Upton of the Bengal establishment was deputed by the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) in 1776, to Poona to conclude a treaty with the ministerial party there, against the wishes of the Bombay Government. The result was the treaty of Purandhar. The treaty between the Bombay Government and Raghunath Rao was formally annulled and no further assistance was to be given to Raghunath Rao.

The ill-fated councils which had estranged the English from Hyder Ali, had forced that chief into an intimate correspondence with Monsieur Bellecombe,<sup>1</sup> the governor of Pondicherry: military stores of every description required, were furnished to him, through the medium of the French fortress of Mahé,<sup>2</sup> on the coast of Malabar, and the plans were concerted of future co-operation, at a more convenient season. At Guntoor, on the coast of Coromandel, French troops, as we shall presently notice, were introduced into the service of Basalut Jung; and Monsieur St. Lubin, whose adventures in the English service in 1768 have been slightly noticed, had now a real mission from April. the court of France; and was negotiating at Poona a treaty with the ministers, by which the port of Choul<sup>3</sup> was to be ceded to France, for the purpose of introducing a body of French troops, to unite with that party in their hostile designs against the English power. Towards the close of the year 1777, a party at Poona, who preferred Ragoba under the protection of the English, to a French force for the support of a minister (Nana Furnanese) who had made a large stride towards open usurpation (by announcing his pretension to render hereditary in his own family, the office of minister to an infant pageant, the nominal usurper of the rights of another imprisoned pageant), opened their views to the British resident at Poona; and proposed a plan for the restoration of Ragoba,

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<sup>1</sup> Major-General Bellecombe arrived at Pondicherry on the 8th January 1777 and took over charge from Jean Law, as Governor.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahé*—Mahé, a French town on the west coast of Madras, 35 miles N.N.W. of Calicut. The French first settled there in 1722, for the sake of the pepper trade. In 1761, it was surrendered to the English, and restored in 1765, recaptured in 1779, restored again in 1785, and captured for the third time in 1793, and finally given back to the French in 1815. The settlement has an area of about 5 square miles.

<sup>3</sup> *Choul*.—Chaul, is a small village on the coast, about 25 miles south of Bombay.

with the aid of an English force. The government of Bombay eagerly encouraged the project ; and the governor general (Mr. Hastings) now restored to the authority of a casting voice at his own council,<sup>1</sup> although he had disliked the connexion with Ragoba on its original footing, gave to the present plan his unqualified approbation. Uniformly disapproving the treaty of 1776, the Governor-general had recently proposed a modification of that instrument, in which he had introduced a provision against the danger he had long perceived to be most imminent, namely, the actual connexion of the ministerial party with the envoy of France, evinced by their repeated demands of troops ; and by the attempt of St. Lubin, to obtain the permission of the Portuguese government, to pass two French regiments, for a purpose not exactly ascertained by the unsuspected route of Goa from the south, and at the same time to occupy Damaun to the north of Bombay, inasmuch as the establishment conceded to that nation at Choul, was too near to Bombay, and at present too defenceless to be occupied, until some decisive blow should have been struck elsewhere.

The negotiations for counteracting these designs assumed various and fluctuating shapes, adapted to the exigencies of the times. Shabajee Bhoonsla, the Mahratta ruler of Berar, was to be supported in the hereditary claims which he was supposed to possess, as lineal\* descendant of the great Sevajee ; and

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<sup>1</sup> The decision by the Supreme Government to support the Bombay Government was opposed strongly by Messrs. Francis and Wheler, but supported by Hastings and Barwell, and carried by the casting vote of the Governor-General. (Forrest: *Selections, Mahratta Series*. Vol. I, pp. xvii-xviii.)

\* Letter from Bengal, 17th August, 1778. There are few persons so little likely to have been misinformed on such a subject as Mr. Hastings. The claim is said to have been founded on adoption ; but I can trace none to the family of Berar.

Sevajee had two sons, *Sambha* and *Ramah*. The first of these had two sons *Sahoo* and *Sambha*. *Sahoo* died without

was expected to overturn at once the complex usurpation which governed at Poona. A respectable force was also prepared in the north-western provinces subject to Bengal, destined to the arduous attempt of traversing the whole of Hindostan, to Poona, or to the western shores of India, as circumstances might require. The professed object of this expedition was the protection of Bombay, ruled by an inefficient government, against the hostile designs of the French; and it commenced its march in May 1778, but was checked by various delays, independently of the death of Mr. Elliot, who was proceeding on a mission to Berar, connected with the accessary object of engaging the interest of Shahbajee Bhounsle. The death of that able public servant, and that of the actual Rajah, defeated the first project of placing him at the head of the Mahratta empire: but a better result followed, in the secret separation of this family from the Mahratta co-operation, and its effective support of the English government, when in 1780 the invasion of Bengal was committed to Moodajee, the successor of Shahbajee, as one branch of the confederacy for the expulsion of the English from every part of India.

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issue, and I have been able to trace no adoption. *Sambha* adopted a son, from whom is descended the family of *Colapoor*, and according to Hindoo law, the present Rajah of that place is unquestionably the lineal heir of *Sevajee*, in the elder branch. The line of pageant Rajahs, confined in Sittara, being as unquestionably descended from *Rama*, the second son of *Serajee*; if the claim of Berar be founded on a supposed adoption by *Sahoo*, and that adoption be real; there would then be a precedence of *two* claims to the privilege of incarcerated royalty, over that which has actually been established; the precedence of *Colapoor* is certain, and if Mr. Hastings ascribed an adoption to *Sahoo*, he probably did so on good grounds.

[Mudaji Bhonsle, who was the Raja of Berar, had no claim to the Mahratta sovereignty. He belonged to the family of Phonsle to which Shahji, the father of Sivaji belonged, but had no claim by any adoption. Shahu (Sivaji II) never adopted a son. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*.)]

Mr. Elliot had recently returned overland from England, and in passing through Paris had been confidentially informed by Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, that war with France was inevitable; and shortly before Mr. Elliot's death, while on his route to Berar, he had, by seizing the person of Mons. Chevalier, intercepted a letter from Mons. Bellecombe to St. Lubin confirming the same intelligence, and desiring him to urge the Mahrattas to immediate action. This intelligence\* induced the English to make those preparations which enabled them to anticipate the blow, by the early reduction of all the French possessions on the continent of India.

In the mean while the preparations at Bombay were conducted with a tardiness and imbecility which deprived Ragoba of the advantages of secrecy, and gave to his enemies the opportunity of discovering and destroying his adherents, and organizing at leisure the means of resistance. It has been objected to the cause of Ragoba, that *no army appeared* to join him on his entering the Mahratta territory; but the lessons of history, from the earliest ages, might instruct statesmen in the fallacy of resting in ordinary cases any plan of military operation on the expectation of such assistance: reflection might always suggest, that the organization and equipment of a military force, which requires the whole exertion of the established powers of a state, is not easily achieved by the desultory and sudden efforts of those who are watched and counteracted by those established authorities.

The Government of Bombay, had however, completed their preparations about the close of the year; and in imitation of the ludicrous policy of Madras, in

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\* The declaration of American independence, by M. de Noailles, was dated the 13th of March, 1778; on the 7th of August the Government of Bengal received official intelligence of the war, through M. Baldwin at Cairo.

1768, appointed field deputies from their civil service to direct the military operations in the field, a measure which by a selection, at least as unwise, of a bed-ridden commander<sup>1</sup> had been rendered almost necessary: On the 1st of January, 1779, the army, 1779. consisting of about 5000 men, including a small corps with Ragoba, surmounted the hills and moved forwards: the conduct of the officers and troops was highly creditable, and their losses severe; but after penetrating to a situation not twenty miles from Poona, the pressure of the overwhelming force by which they were incessantly surrounded, harrassed, and starved, suggested the necessity of retreat, which terminated on the 14th of the same month, in the disastrous convention of Worgaum;<sup>2</sup> this instrument provided on one hand for the safe return of the troops, and on the other for the surrender of Ragoba, the restitution of all former conquests, and the return to Bengal of the troops whose march has been noticed; and for the performance of the latter conditions, two English Gentlemen\* were delivered as hostages. The Government of Bombay disavowed the treaty of Worgaum; and the Supreme Government conceiving that one of the parties to this convention, namely, the field deputies, had exceeded all powers with which they could possibly be deemed to be vested, by stipulating for that, over which the Government of Bombay itself had no authority, determined to sacrifice the hostages† rather than execute the terms of this disgraceful compact.

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Egerton. The English force consisted of 591 Europeans, 2,278 native infantry and 500 gun lascars. (Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*. Vol. II, p. 84.)

<sup>2</sup> *Worgaum*.—Wadgaon, a village on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, 23 miles north-west of Poona. (*Indian Gazetteer, Bombay*, 1909. Vol. I, pp. 533-534.)

\* Messrs. Farmer and Stewart.

† It is creditable to the humanity of Madajee Sindia, whose prisoners they became, that he afterwards released them unconditionally. To Lt. Steward, who expressed to him his scruples, he

In the mean while the concentration of this Mahratta force in the direction of Poona, had relieved the detachment from Bengal from the presence of the troops, which were otherwise destined to oppose its march; and Colonel Goddard, who had succeeded to the command of this force, deviated from the course towards Poona, which he was pursuing, when he heard of the convention of Worgaum; and by a great and continued exertion arrived at Surat before the end of February.

The means which were thus placed at the disposal of the Government of Bombay, for the renewal of the war; and the powers with which General Goddard was invested for the conclusion of peace, disposed the ministerial party at Poona to an acquiescence in the modification of the treaty of 1776, to which we have formerly adverted. They expressed in a letter to Bombay their earnest desire for an immediate accommodation; and in the confidence of returning friendship informed that Government of the great preparations which they were completing, for marching in full force against Hyder Ali, at the opening of the ensuing season; when the escape of Ragoba\* from the custody of Sindia, to General Goddard's camp on the 12th of June, changed the whole plan of their policy; and induced them to depute without a moment's delay, the embassy to Hyder, that terminated in the offensive alliance against the English, which has been already noticed.

But the hostility of these two states did not constitute the only danger which threatened the

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replied, "*resume your place in the army, your sword is your subsistence.*"

\* He was accompanied by his adopted son, Amrut Row, then seventeen, and Bâjee Row, four years old, born to him after the adoption of the former. *This Bâjee Row is the present Peshwa, 1816.*

[Baji Rao surrendered to Sir John Malcolm in 1818, and was given a residence at Bithur in the Cawnpore District. His adopted son was Nana Saheb of the Mutiny.]

English power. The interference of France, in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, had now terminated in an open rupture between those two states ; and although the capture of Pondicherry, after a gallant resistance in October 1778, and the reduction of Mâhè in March 1779, had relieved the English from the most imminent of their dangers in Coromandel and Malabar ; still the vicinity of the French islands enabled that Power to give the most formidable support to the impending confederacy, which was farther strengthened by the active political efforts of Nizam Ali, the result of transactions with the Government of Madras which it remains to describe.

We have seen that in the arrangements which were concluded between Nizam Ali and the English regarding the cession of the northern Circars ; that of Guntoor forming a part of the jageer of Basâlut Jung was reserved during the life-time of that chief, but the Company were declared to possess the full reversionary right to that district, and as a guard against the designs of his brother, the jealous condition had been added by Nizam Ali, of the right of the English to dispossess him at any earlier period, if his conduct should be hostile or injurious. The district of Guntoor occupies a considerable extent of sea coast, between the northern boundary of the dominions of Arcot and the river Kistna, which was then the southern limit of the other northern Circars possessed by the English. The trifling sea-port of Mootapillee<sup>1</sup> had been employed by Basâlut Jung for the introduction into his service of French officers and troops ; and the disciplined corps under Monsieur Lally had attained a respectable degree of force and organization, at the period that we have described it as surprized by Hyder in its trenches at Bellari in 1775.

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<sup>1</sup> *Mootapillee*.—Motupalli, a fishing village about 30 miles from the southern mouth of the Kistna river. Marco Polo stopped there about 1290 A.D. on his voyage up the coast. He mentions the trade in diamonds and fine cloths.



Basálut Jung meditating to render this corps the foundation of retrieving his fortunes, continued to augment and improve it, to every practicable extent; and this incessant introduction of French officers and troops into the interior of the peninsula, and the interposition of a French force, between the different positions of the English territory on the coast of Coromandel, had caused repeated remonstrances from the Government at Madras, both to Nizam Ali and Basálut Jung. The result of some previous negotiations produced, in the early part of the year 1779, an offer from Basálut Jung to rent that Circar to the English; and subsequently an agreement by which he engaged to dismiss the French corps from his service, on the condition of being furnished with a body of English troops for the defence of his dominions. The endeavours of the English to obtain an amicable transfer of that life interest in the district of Guntoor, which constituted the only impediment to their occupation of that territory, was a measure perfectly justifiable: but in connecting that legitimate object, with the loose condition of defending the other possessions of Basálut Jung, they rushed into a wide and dangerous field of political discussion, utterly beyond their competence, as a subordinate presidency.

The improvidence of Basálut Jung in an augmentation of force, disproportioned to his financial means, had caused the French corps to be ill paid and discontented: he hoped to retrieve his finances by stipulating, that the revenues of Guntoor should furnish the payment of his English auxiliary force; and when Lally,\* already reduced by Nizam Ali, was

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\* The Government of Fort St. George, (general letter, 3d April, 1780,) state the reception of these troops by Nizam Ali, to be a direct violation of the treaty of 1768. I cannot find the condition which it violates.

[It may not have been a direct violation of the treaty, but the treaty certainly implied that the Nizam should depend for

about to leave his service, he transferred to the English the possession of Guntoor, and earnestly pressed the immediate march of their auxiliary troops to Adwāni, at the precise time that Hyder, after the capture of April. Chittledroog, was in motion for the conquest of Kurpa, a country exactly interposed between the ceded province and the capital of Basalut Jung. The tardy arrangements of the Government of Madras had not prepared the detachment until the month of August, when Hyder, after completing that conquest, August. had long returned to Seringapatam, leaving the provincial command to the care of Meer Sāheb. The orders for the march of the British detachment were issued with the same loose unconcern, as if they had related to a simple interior movement: its route, by the provinces of Kurpa and Kurnool, amounting to at least two hundred miles of road distance, was through the most difficult passes of the peninsula, and across the territories of two powers, namely Hyder and Nizam Ali, who were directly interested in preventing its progress. By a political inadvertence scarcely credible, no previous notice was given, or permission requested, to pass a military force through these foreign territories; the officer commanding was merely furnished with a letter from the governor to Hyder's manager (as he is named) of the district, requesting that he would allow the troops to pass; a proceeding undignified, as it regarded the governor, and insulting as it related to Hyder, subversive of all intelligible relations, and only shewing that the governor was aware of the necessity of some sort of permission. Colonel Harper, the officer commanding, was allowed to proceed without molestation, until the whole body was fairly entangled in a deep winding rugged vale, between two precipitous hills; when a breast-work of felled trees, lined with musquetry, was seen in front; troops were observed

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his defence, on the English and not on the French. It was an unfriendly act.]

to be in motion in the hills on both flanks, and a larger force to close up the rear; when Colonel Harper,<sup>1</sup> perceiving the perilous snare into which he was advancing, prudently determined on an immediate retreat, which was permitted without serious hostility. The Government, on receiving this report, determined to reinforce the detachment, and August remonstrate with Hyder, assuming in their letter, as an axiom in the law of nations, that friendly states were always at liberty to march troops through each other's territories. Hyder not only resisted this novel doctrine, but announced to Basâlut Jung his fixed determination, not to suffer an English corps to pass to Adwâni, nor the district of Guntoor to pass into the hands of his most inveterate enemy; (for the Government had already unveiled the secret mover of the scene, by sub-renting the district to Mahommed Ali.) Hyder's declaration was quickly followed by a body of light troops, who laid waste the territory of Adwâni up to the gates of the capital; and by the time that Colonel Harper was reinforced, Nov. 1. and had recommenced his march, he was stopped by letters from Basâlut Jung, stating that he was threatened with destruction, both by Hyder, and Nizam Ali, if he should continue his connexion with the English; and requesting that for the present the Colonel should desist from the attempt to advance. Another letter, to the Government of Madras, implored their restoration of Guntoor, as the only means of saving him from the vengeance of his enemies. But that Government determined to keep

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Humphrey Harper with one company of artillery, a detachment of European infantry, and the 7th and 11th Carnatic battalions, was sent from Madras to Motupalli by sea, and marched to Vinuconda, and then into the hills in the north of Kurnool District, where the passes were strongly occupied by Haidar's troops, he returned to Vinuconda. In September he was reinforced by a company of artillery, two companies of infantry and the 1st battalion of sepoys. (Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 353.)

possession of the territory, in conformity to the treaty, and to announce that the troops which they had agreed to maintain for his service, were ready to perform their part of the stipulation. Nizam Ali resented, as an act of hostility against himself, the stipulation of the English, for the unconditional defence of his brother, and most formidable rival; and entered with the utmost zeal into the confederacy of the other states.

Such were the formidable combinations which encouraged Hyder to persevere in his part of the general plan, which had for its avowed object the extermination of the British power in India. But in order that our future narrative may not be interrupted by a reference to the subsequent negotiations with Nizam Ali, it may be a convenient anticipation to state in this place, that all these transactions were veiled by an unlawful mystery from the Government-General of Bengal, to whom the treaty with Basâlut Jung, concluded in April, 1779, was not communicated until the 18th of February, 1780; and when disapproved, and restitution ordered to be made, those orders were evaded and disobeyed, under the pretext of awaiting the concurrence of Mahommed Ali; that the Governor, Mr. Whitehill,<sup>1</sup> was in consequence

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<sup>1</sup> John Whitehill was a junior civilian on the Madras establishment in 1755, when with others he signed a complaint as to the conduct of Dr. Munro. He was one of the commissaries in 1763 to take charge of the booty in Pondicherry. He was in England on leave in 1777 and carried out the despatch from the Directors to Lord Pigot, after he had been imprisoned by his Council. He made a record journey of 79 days from London to Madras, and assumed the post of Provisional Governor on the 24th September 1777, until the arrival of Sir Thomas Rumbold on 8th February 1778. In 1780, 6th April, he became for a second time Provisional Governor when Sir Thomas Rumbold resigned. On the 5th November 1780, Sir Eyre Coote was sent down from Bengal with a letter from the Governor-General suspending Whitehill. He disavowed the authority of the order, but the Council did not support him, and he handed over the Government to Charles Smith, the senior member, and

suspended from his office, in October, 1780; and the prompt restitution of Guntoor immediately effected; and that by these and other judicious and conciliatory measures, the Supreme Government succeeded in detaching from this powerful confederacy Nizam Ali Khān, who professed himself to have been its original adviser. But it is of importance to add, that the Government-General were materially aided in their negotiations by the effect produced on the mind of Nizam Ali by certain intelligence recently received, of one of the mandates or grants from the Mogul, so often discussed, having been procured by Hyder, conferring on him the whole of the possessions then held by Nizam Ali himself.<sup>1</sup>

We return from a digression, necessary for explaining the condition of the British power, which Hyder was about to assail, to resume the narrative of his own direct communications with that Government.

On the departure of Mahommed Ali's ambassadors in 1775, Hyder reluctantly, but finally, dismissed from his mind all expectation of an alliance with the English; and turned his earnest attention to their European rivals, the French; who received his advances with marked encouragement; a vakeel, or political agent, continued to reside at Madras, for the purpose of intelligence; but his intercourse with the Government was limited to those formal communications, which are made as a matter of routine, to all

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left for England. He afterwards went to France, and probably died there. (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*.)

<sup>1</sup> The Nizam's policy was influenced by three factors: he was disturbed (1) by the support given by the Bombay Government to Ragoba, (2) by the project Warren Hastings had planned for an alliance with the Mahratta Raja of Nagpur, (3) by the action of the Madras Government as regards Guntur. His neutrality was secured by Warren Hastings giving up Guntur, and by his learning that Hyder Ali was intriguing at Delhi. (*A Vindication of Sir Thomas Rumbold*. London. Longmans, 1868.)

powers not in actual hostility on the occurrence of any important event. On the occasion of his victory and pursuit of Hurry Punt Purkia, he addressed one of these letters to the Governor, in January, 1778; which was answered by a letter of congratulation in the following month, from Sir T. Rumbold,<sup>1</sup> who had recently succeeded to the government, and expressed a desire for farther amicable communications. Hyder was engaged in an arduous service (namely the reduction of the Mahratta territory between the rivers) which rendered it necessary that he should temporize, and he returned to this communication a letter of great civility accompanied by some presents. The same causes which would for a time prevent his aiding the French, in that rupture with the English, which he knew to be impending, induced him to attempt amusing them with other schemes; and in pursuance of this design, his agent submitted to the Governor the project of a joint operation for replacing Ragoba, in the Peshwaship of Poona. This advance was met by the proposal of a personal conference, to discuss the details of a permanent alliance; and Hyder replied, by objecting to the great distance of his present situation, and by suggesting that an envoy should be sent to him for that purpose, as soon as his arrangements should be in sufficient forwardness. In the mean while, the urgency to his own

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Rumbold, born in 1736, was by his family closely connected with Madras. His father was in the Company's marine service and became Second in Council at Tellicherry, where he died. His uncle Henry Rumbold was an attorney in the Mayor's court at Madras. Thomas Rumbold was appointed to the Civil Service in 1752 and was afterwards transferred to the army. He served under Lawrence at Trichinopoly, and was wounded at Plassey. He reverted to the Civil Service and was in Council in Bengal in 1766. He returned to England in 1769, and was a Member of Parliament for East Shoreham, and a Director of the East India Company. He was selected to succeed Lord Pigot and assumed office as Governor on the 8th February 1778. (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*. Vol. III, p. 141.)

affairs of the service in which he was engaged. prevented him from moving to the support of the French, at Pondicherry, during a siege protracted from the 8th of August till the 18th of October.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Government of Madras had recently expressed their conviction to the Supreme Government that Mahommed Ali would never consent to the alliance with Hyder ; yet on announcing to that chief the fall of Pondicherry, they pressed its conclusion, by desiring an explicit declaration of his sentiments regarding the proposed treaty. But the period had passed away for the realization of such a project. Hyder had reluctantly engaged in other connexions ; and was persuaded, that the secret impediments to a sincere alliance with the English, continued to be insurmountable ; although, therefore, he replied in terms of cold and formal congratulation, on the success of the English arms, he evaded the explicit declaration which was required, by saying that he would write on the subject of a personal interview with the Governor, as soon as he should have finished an expedition on which he was then engaged. The Governor, however, persevered in his desire of farther communication, by proposing to send a resident to his court ; and concluded with announcing to him, his intention of sending an expedition for the reduction of Mâhè.

Although Hyder had heard with regret of the capture of Pondicherry, his immediate convenience was not materially affected by that event ; but if the fortress and port of Mâhè should fall into the possession of the English, he would lose the direct source of military supply, and his allies their last remaining

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<sup>1</sup> War between England and France was declared in March 1778, and on 15th April the Select Committee directed the Madras Select Committee to attack Pondicherry. Siege operations under Sir Hector Munro began on 31st August 1778. Sir Edward Vernon, the Admiral, with six ships co-operated. On the 17th October, the Governor, M. Bellecombe, surrendered the place.

point of co-operation : he therefore replied to this intimation, that he considered the various settlements Feb. 17. of the Dutch, French, and English, on the coast of Malabar to be equally entitled to his protection as being erected on his territory, and that he should certainly oppose the designs of any one of those powers against the settlements of another ; he at the same time directed his agent to announce to the Governor, in the most explicit terms, that in the event of an attack on Mâhè, he should not only aid in its direct defence, but retaliate, by detaching a body of troops to lay waste the province of Arcot. That forts and harbours, possessed by European powers, long before Hyder's existence, should pass under his sovereignty, in consequence of a subsequent conquest of the adjoining territory, was a political assumption of sufficient absurdity, and the English government would have sacrificed all pretensions to dignity and independence, by yielding to a determination founded on such futile pretences. Mahommed Ali was of a different opinion, he recommended that the expedition to Mâhè, already arrived on the coast of Malabar, should be postponed ; and reverted to the policy so often repudiated, of strengthening themselves against Hyder, by an alliance with the Mahrattas ; the service went on, and although Hyder's troops assisted in the defence of the place, and his colours were hoisted with those of the French to indicate his protection, it fell in the month of March. The Nairs in the neighbourhood immediately rose in rebellion against Hyder's Government, in the hope of being supported by the English ; but Colonel Brathwaite,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The force under Colonel Brathwaite consisted of three companies of artillery, one battalion of European infantry, and the 3rd, 4th and 20th Carnatic battalions. (Wilson : *History of the Madras Army*. Vol. I, p. 351.) Colonel Brathwaite saw service in 1772 against the Poligars of Madura ; in 1782, he was taken prisoner in Tanjore and sent to Seringapatam and released in 1784. He was Commander-in-Chief from 1792 to 1796 and captured Pondicherry in 1793. (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, p. 176.)



who commanded the expedition, did not consider himself justified, under the equivocal aspect of Hyder's policy, to engage in any act of direct aggression; the Nairs were consequently subdued by Hyder's provincial troops, and were afterwards stimulated to attack the English, not only at Mâhè, but at their ancient settlement of Tellicherry.

April. If Hyder did not put into immediate execution his threat of invading the territory of Arcot, he was restrained by motives of a prudential and temporary nature, and he certainly cannot be accused of disguising his intention. In a letter written in the succeeding month, after complaining of incessant impropriety of conduct, on the part of Mahommed Ali's officers on the frontier, he adds, that out of respect to the King of England, and the gentlemen of the council at Madras, he had *as yet taken no step to retaliate*, reminds the Governor of the notice he had given regarding Mâhe; and concludes with the significant observation, that the Governor was the best judge of his own conduct. The reply of the Governor, after expressing surprize at Hyder's partiality to the French, in preference to the English, somewhat awkwardly, complains for the first time, of Hyder's conquest in 1776, of the territories of Morari Row, who was included as an ally, in the treaty of 1769; and also of the conquest of *Kurpa*, which Mahommed Ali with literal truth, but political deception had represented to be an ancient dependency\* of Carnatic. The tone of Hyder's last communication was certainly calculated to excite alarm: and the Governor determined to adopt the best means in his

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\* He intended to represent it as a dependency of *Draueda*, now named *Carnatic Payen Ghaut*, on which it never had depended. It was an ancient portion of Telingana, (see pp. 5-9.) when the Mahommedan conquerors made the artificial division of Carnatic Vijeyapoor and Carnatic Hyderabad, (p. 233.) Kurpa was included in the conquests of the latter, but on no occasion was a dependency of the *Payeen Ghaut*.

power for disposing him to more amicable councils ; or at least to ascertain the actual extent of his designs.

Among the Danish missionaries patronized by the English society for promoting Christian knowledge, was a German clergyman, named Swartz,<sup>1</sup> who had his principal residence at Tanjour, but frequently travelled in the exercise of his religious functions, to various parts of the peninsula. He was a man of considerable information, of amiable demeanour, and of a purity of manners, and simplicity of deportment, which emulated the Apostolic character. To this respectable person, the Governor intrusted the secret mission of proceeding to the court of Hyder, to "sound" his disposition ; to assure him of the amicable designs of the English Government ; and if he should appear to be peaceably disposed, to inform him that a deputation of some principal members of the council would be sent to him, to adjust the terms of a lasting alliance. By the most unhappy coincidence of events, Mr. Swartz arrived at Seringapatam, a few days after Hyder had received the intelligence of Colonel Harper's hostile attempt (as it was there considered) to pass without permission through the province of Kurpa, towards Adwānee ;<sup>2</sup> this event was not calculated to compose Hyder's resentment on other accounts ; but he assured Mr. Swartz, that "if the English offered the hand of peace and concord, he would not withdraw his," PROVIDED \* \* \* \* , but of these mysterious provisos, nothing can now be ascertained.\* Hyder was gracious and con-

<sup>1</sup> Christian Frederick Swartz came to India in 1750. He settled in Tanjore in 1776, and built a church there in 1779. Hyder respected him so much that he issued orders to his army to allow Swartz to proceed wherever he wished. He died in 1799 after 48 years of uninterrupted work.

<sup>2</sup> August 1779.

\* The arrival of a private traveller was so little calculated to excite attention, that few persons of Hyder's court could recollect any thing of him, excepting that Hyder, who conversed with the

descending to the envoy; but his two letters to the Governor, the first delivered by Mr. Swartz, and the second transmitted in the succeeding month, spoke daggers to the most torpid apprehension. He took a review of the conduct of the English, as connected with Mahommed Ali, from the fraud of Trichinopoly in 1752, to their violation of the treaty of 1769; he enumerated their hostile conduct at Mahè, the attempt to march troops through his territories to those of Basâlut Jung; the conduct of Mahommed Ali's officers on the frontiers; and of the Company's servants at Tellicherry, in furnishing protection and aid to his rebellious subjects, as so many evidences of their determination to break with him at all events, and added, "I have not yet taken revenge: it is no matter. But if you henceforth, forgetting all treaties and engagements of the Company, still are intent on breaking with me, what advantage can attend writing to you? When such improper conduct is pursued, what engagements will remain inviolate? I leave you to judge on whose part engagements and promises have been broken. You are acquainted with every thing, it is right to act in all things with prudence and foresight." On the

Oct.

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teachers of all religions, had about this period some conversations with a Christian priest, who came to instruct some of his European soldiers.

"The President acquaints the Committee that the critical Situation of our affairs with Hyder Ali induced him lately to take a step, in the view of sounding the real intentions of that power, which he deemed it incumbent on him even to conceal from the Knowledge of the Committee; and he hopes the Expediency of such a Conduct will be justified by the nature of the Information he wanted to procure. . . .

"He judged it expedient to send a person privately to Hyder Ali with a letter from himself . . . desiring an Explicit Decla-

occasion, are the Governor's letter to Hyder, which merely stated the amicable objects of the mission, and Hyder's answers, already adverted to, which add, that "Mr. Swartz would inform him, (the Governor) with several matters he had charged him with;" but no entry was made on the records of the information from Mr. Swartz, thus directly and officially referred to; nor a single line of report, or journal, or communication, in any form, from a person who had been charged with a political mission of the greatest importance. In a period abounding with themes of wonder, it is impossible to repress our astonishment, that no individual charged with public authority in India or in England, ever suggested the examination of Mr. Swartz on these points; or called for a journal or report of his proceedings. A committee of the House of Commons, subsequently charged with the investigation of these transactions, simply reports the fact of no such entry having been made; but adds no suggestion regarding the obvious means of supplying the defect. Although I had the pleasure of Mr. Swartz's acquaintance many years afterwards, and have heard him narrate many facts connected with the subject of this mission, he died long before my attention was directed to historical pursuits; but I had hoped that a journal might be found among his papers; and his worthy successors kindly complied with my request\* to examine them

ration of Hyder's real Intentions towards the Company and Carnatic. This person (Mr. Swartz) went accordingly, and was received with great Civility by Hyder, who, at his Departure, gave him a letter in answer to the President's . . . by which he (the President) has too much reason to apprehend that Hyder's Intentions are really such as they have for sometime appeared from his Letters, that is, Hostile both against the Company and the Carnatic; and that it is become necessary for the Committee to guard as much as Possible against the Consequences." (Minute of the President, *Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. LXVIII, 23rd October 1779.)

\* Through my friend, Colonel Blackburn, political resident at Tanjour.

for that purpose ; no such document was found ; but extracts were made from his correspondence, which unfortunately interposes a mysterious\* blank at the very point on which our information is defective. The whole of these extracts are subjoined† for the purpose of exhibiting the amount of the lights which they afford regarding the nature of the mission, and of furnishing a curious and interesting picture of the mind of this venerable Christian, who seems to have deemed the political mission no farther worthy of notice, than as it tended to promote a particular object of spiritual pursuit.

Dec. A point of secret history seems to be connected with the mission of Mr. Swartz, which is not explained by another which immediately succeeded it. Six English gentlemen and a lady had proceeded from Europe to Alexandria, and traversing Egypt to Suez, had there embarked on board a Danish ship bound to Calicut on the coast of Malabar, where both ship and cargo were seized for having English property on board ; and all the passengers were plundered and sent as prisoners to Seringapatam. Hyder on their arrival directed the governor‡ of Calicut, who accompanied them to the capital, to ascertain how many of them were fit for *gunners*, but on discovering that there was not one military man among them, he gave an early order for their release : there was some hope that their property would also be restored, but unfortunately some of the articles attracted Hyder's fancy, others were probably intercepted in his name without his authority, and the prisoners were dis-

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\* "The Nabob, (Mahommed Ali, at Madras,) and others, frustrated all hopes of peace," says Mr. Swartz ; this may afford a clue to conjecture, which conversations between Mr. Swartz and his most intimate friends would render sufficiently explicit, if it were permitted to found on the recollection of such conversations, after a long interval, the narrative of an historical fact, of more than ordinary delicacy, involving the reputations of the dead.

† Appendix, No. VIII, end of this volume.

‡ Sirdar Khân.

missed with a very slender wardrobe. On the first 1780 intelligence of this capture, the governor of Madras determined on the mission of an envoy to demand the release of the English subjects, and to embrace the same opportunity of resuming an attempt at amicable alliance. The person selected for this service was Mr. Gray,<sup>1</sup> formerly of the civil service in Bengal. He met at Amboor on the English frontier Feb. 3. (where he had waited a few days for his passport from Hyder) the prisoners, whose release formed the first object of his mission, but he determined to proceed in prosecution of the second, although limited 6. by the terms of his passports to a retinue which scarcely allowed him the conveniences of a private traveller. On his arrival near the capital, quarters 17. were assigned to him at the distance of two miles, in a miserable shed half filled with artillery ropes, where (according to his journal) "one of Hyder's *chobdars*\* came and squatted himself by his side and asked a variety of impertinent questions." His own attendants of the same order were not permitted to go with a message to Hyder, according to ordinary etiquette, and not one of his people stirred from the shed without being openly attended by a spy, to prevent his having any communications, excepting for the purpose of purchasing what he required in the market. He was however admitted to an audience on the

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<sup>1</sup> The Danish ship *Nathalia*, from Suez to Bengal, put into Calicut, where she was seized by Haider; and her nine British passengers, including two ladies, were arrested. Anthony Fay, barrister, and his wife Eliza were confined at Calicut, and the remainder, among whom were Mr. and Mrs. Tulloh, were carried to Seringapatam. All were released after about three months' detention. (Mrs. Fay: *Original Letters from India*, 1817.) Mr. George Gray, who had served in Bengal, was sent to Seringapatam to ask for the release of the Calicut prisoners.

\* Attendants with silver or gold staffs, who act as a sort of subordinate marshals and messengers; the attempt of one of these persons to sit down in the presence of a man of rank, would every where in India be deemed a broad and deliberate insult.

[*Chobdar*.—Hind. and Persian *Chobdār*, a stick-bearer; an

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succeeding evening, "after (as he reports) being kept in an open veranda two hours to be stared at," and delivered his letter and presents. Of course no business was transacted in this first audience: but on the ensuing morning the presents\* were returned, with an intimation that hostility was not to be inferred from that circumstance. It was Hyder's intention to shew that the presents were not suited to the dignity of the giver or the receiver, and adverting to customs of which the Governor and his envoy ought not to have been ignorant, they had fairly subjected themselves to this rude retort. A few days afterwards Mr. Gray proceeded to the private audience which he had requested: and after being introduced to the public durbar, and waiting about half an hour, without being spoken to by Hyder, a person came to announce that if he wished a private audience, a person in Hyder's confidence would retire with him into an adjoining apartment, report the result to Hyder, and bring his answer. Mr. Gray expressed a wish for a personal audience, but on being informed that this was not customary, he retired with Mahomed Osmañ† who brought him the intimation; and who frequently passed to the durbar to refer to Hyder, and bring his replies. Mr. Gray announced the main object of his mission to be a closer union of interests, to which Hyder replied, that he would be glad of the friendship of the English; but of what avail were treaties? of the treaty of 1769, they had broken every article: his affairs had been reduced to the brink of

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attendant on Indian nobles; they are still a part of the State of the Viceroy, Governors and Judges of the High Courts.]

\* A saddle and a gun constituted their whole amount; the saddle, (of English make, N.B. of hogskin to a Mussulman,) seemed intended to try, not assist the seat; the gun, (a rifle which loaded at the breech,) was charged at the wrong end; such is the verbal account I have received of the messages which attended their return; Mr. Gray's journal is to the same effect, but somewhat softened.

† He was attended also by Mahommed Ghyass.

ruin, by their refusal to aid him against the Mahrattas: that was the time for friendship, if friendship had existed: after such an example, it was unnecessary to enumerate minor grievances.\* Mr. Gray adroitly replied, that he had not come to speak of grievances under former governments, but to propose a remedy against new ones; and a treaty which should ensure the aid of troops when necessary. To this, Mahommed Osmañ replied from himself, "that Hyder did not want them, the time was, when he would have been thankful for them, but now he was strong enough to take care of himself and do without them. I have been at Madras," said Osmañ, "and have observed how your allies are treated: Mahommed Ali shewed me several letters from the king of England, *but complained of the lacs of pagodas which each of those letters cost him.*" To this observation, Mr. Gray gave the turn of expressing his satisfaction that Mahommed Ali had friends at Seringapatam; he desired to be understood, that the wish for Hyder's friendship did not proceed from weakness; as the English Government was not in a state to solicit alliances; that he had so far executed his commission; and would either immediately return with the ungracious answer he had received; or wait for orders in reply to his report, as Hyder might think fit. That chief had now given abundant, repeated, and most explicit proofs of his intentions, but he did not wish to precipitate hostility before he was perfectly ready: he therefore carelessly answered that the gentleman might write; but although it had been agreed that his letters were to be sent by Hyder's post, he found himself obliged, after numerous eva-

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\* Among other observations, he stated, that the English had conquered Tanjour, which was guaranteed by the treaty. This was intended to retort the Governor's observation regarding his own conquest of Gooty; but Tanjour was taken in 1773, and restored in April 1775; and Gooty was not taken till 1776, and never restored.



sions, to send them by special messengers, and during the whole period of waiting for a reply Hyder was inaccessible to all his advances. At length, when  
 Mar.19. Hyder knew that he had received his answer, without desiring or waiting for a communication of its contents, he notified to the envoy, that he would on that evening give him his audience of leave. Under these circumstances, Mr. Gray determined, that if Hyder should make no enquiry regarding the answer, he would not give him the opportunity of insulting him in public durbar, by speaking on the subject himself. Under ordinary circumstances this would certainly have been the most dignified course of proceeding; but as the Government of Madras had not chosen to believe the hostility so frequently professed, and had allowed this mission to proceed with no remaining object, but to be more distinctly informed of Hyder's determinations; it would seem to have been more consistent with that object, to have brought those determinations to the most open and public issue. The envoy sat an hour in silence, when beetel<sup>1</sup> and ottar of roses, the usual indications of dismissal, were offered, and presents of the customary description\* and value were offered and accepted; apparently because the envoy was glad to escape on any terms, from a country in which he was treated so inhospitably: where, (according to his own description,) "he had been received and treated as a spy, rather than an ambassador; rather confined than lodged; and in which the trifling civilities of fruits and flowers were delivered by chobdars, who were uncivil, insolent, greedy, and clamorous."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Beetel*.—Betel, the leaf of the *Piper betel*, chewed with the dried areca-nut.

\* Gold cloths, shawls, and two bags, of 500 rupees each.

<sup>2</sup> George Gray wrote to the Madras Government: "The Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn had of his own accord liberated the Gentlemen whose Enlargement I was directed to Solicit, so that it only remained for me to return him thanks for the friendly manner in which he had dismissed them and provided for their

We have entered into circumstances of more than usual detail, for the purpose of enabling the reader to form his own judgment regarding the conduct which might have been expected in consequence, from men\* governed by the ordinary degree of intellect, and swayed by the usual impulses that actuate mankind. It must be stated to the credit of Mahommed Ali, that he recommended, in the strongest terms, the most vigorous preparations for the reception of the enemy; and continued from day to day to report the progress of Hyder's preparations, and the certainty of immediate invasion; but he had become a Cassandra, without the interposition of Apollo, his predictions were all discredited; in every successive year since the peace of 1769 he had continued to announce the same event, till his prophecies became the theme of ridicule, and tended only to confirm the torpor and imbecility of this unhappy government. His warnings were moreover

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Journey through his country. When I had done this, I took occasion at the Same time to express to the Nabob the Sentiments of regard and friendship which the Government of Fort St. George and the English nation in General entertained towards his highness; but I am sorry to say my professions on that Subject did not meet with the reception which I hoped, for they were answered with Reproaches of repeated Breaches of Faith, and the English Nation was taxed with a positive Breach of the Treaty. Notwithstanding this unpleasant manifestation of the Nabob's Sentiments, I continued at Seringapatam in hopes of finding some favourable opportunity of an explanation, but I was completely disappointed, for he never permitted me to visit him again 'till the 19th March, when he sent for me purposely to give me an audience of Leave. . . .

"I have to observe that my Reception at the Court of Seringapatam was neither friendly nor respectful: a few Instances of Politeness were overbalanced by many more of inattention and Slight, and I will venture to say that the latter had the appearance of being evidently marked." (*Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. LXIX, 1st April 1780.)

\* Mr. Gray arrived at Madras on the 30th March, 1780. Mr. Whitehill succeeded to the government on the departure of Sir T. Rumbold, a few days afterwards.

unaccompanied by the means of following his counsel ; from the period of the restitution of Tanjore, the noble corps of troops which he had embodied were constantly mutinous for want of pay, and continued to go off, full of grief and indignation, in large bodies, to the service of Hyder. While thus paying no one, Mahommed Ali borrowed from every one who would lend ; and repaid these loans, and the imaginary services by which he was still deluded, chiefly by bonds ; some payable at stated, some at indefinite periods ; all eventually charged on the revenues of the country, while the gold was hoarded as it was received, in his secret coffers. The Government at Madras were incessant in their complaints of "the great difficulty they had, to obtain the least assistance from the nabob, or any part of the large balances remaining due, though it is beyond a doubt that money to a large amount is now\* hoarded up in his coffers at Chepauk.† This backwardness is not the complaint of a day ; the records are filled with the distress which the Company's affairs have been exposed to, by the trifling and nugatory conduct of the nabob, whenever money has been demanded of him ;" and again, "no sense of the common danger, in case of a war, can prevail on him to furnish the Company with what is absolutely necessary to assemble an army." Of this person, whom it once became the fashion to designate as the most faithful ally of the English Company, our judgment would be

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\* Dated July, 1778, the very time when his troops were in the greatest distress for pay.

[The native cavalry, about 3,600 men, during the period from 1776 to 1778, "were in a chronic state of mutiny in consequence of the extreme length of time they were kept without pay." (Wilson : *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. I, p. 356.)]

† His residence near Madras.

[The Nawab in 1767 acquired a house by the sea in Chepauk ; in 1768, he removed this and built the Chepauk Palace ; the northern part of the building now holds the offices of the Board of Revenue.]

more unqualified, if the most mournful palliations were not every where discernible in the conduct of those Englishmen by whom he was plundered and deluded. But with regard to the Government of Madras, as no language can convey an adequate impression of conduct, which no ordinary amount of evidence would render credible to succeeding ages, we shall be satisfied with a bare enunciation of facts. In their letter to England, of the 12th of February, Feb. 12. they express a hope (whence derived it is difficult to conjecture) that "as the season is so far advanced, they should preserve the peace of the Carnatic that year." On the 3d of April, after inveighing against April 3. the conduct of Bombay, stigmatizing the Mahratta war as the source of Hyder's increased strength, and proposing a Mahratta peace as their best security against his designs, they seem to infer, that notwithstanding his hostile demonstrations, he was unwilling or unable to act openly against them, although he had himself told them, in the most distinct terms, that he was both able and willing; and after advert- ing to the late correspondence, and the mission of Mr. Gray, instead of entering into any consideration, immediate or remote, of the practical measures of state which such conduct could not fail to suggest to men of ordinary intellect, they close their observations with the following puerile remark, "your Honours will be able to judge clearly of Hyder's disposition towards us: this unfriendly, not to say insolent conduct, could only have been encouraged by our present troubles with the Mahrattas, in which he finds so much advantage as we have already explained;" but of any thing in the shape of a measure no trace is to be found on the records, unless we are to class as such a letter to Bengal, of similar import, which added a description of their total helplessness. No measure of precaution was adopted regarding supplies of food, a branch of the science of war not only the most difficult, but requiring the earliest

combinations : no provision was made for the defence of places, or the formation of a field force ; not one soldier was moved from his ordinary cantonment, nor a single indication afforded of being awake to the perception of facts notorious to all India, and in Mysoor not attempted to be concealed. "I have tried them already (said Hyder) and I know them well, they have no conduct ; and even now, when I have assembled my whole force to enter the country, they have not shewn the least glimmering of ability."\* On his own part every branch of preparation was arranged with the most scrupulous care ; no department escaped his personal inspection ; and although ample provision was made for the military occupation of all the posts, in every part of his dominions, he moved from his capital in the month of June, with a force which had probably not been equalled, and certainly not surpassed, in strength and efficiency, by any native army that had ever been assembled in the south† of India : prayers for the

\* The very words of a paper of intelligence from Hyder's army, delivered by Mahommed Ali on the 25th July, 1780 ; the intelligence was perfectly correct, it was Hyder's ordinary topic of conversation at this time.

† The following is a correct return of the force actually mustered at Bangalore, which is exclusive of Meer Saheb's corps, still at Kurpa, altogether about 6000 horse and foot,—

Stable horse	...	...	...	14,000
Silledar ditto	...	...	...	12,000
Savancoor ditto	...	...	...	2,000
Infantry regularly armed and disciplined				15,000
Select and veteran peons in regular pay...				12,000
Ditto, assembled from the local establishments, subject to relief, and kept constantly complete	...	...	...	18,000
Peons of tributary Poligars, exclusively of their small contingents of cavalry	...			10,000
				<hr/> 83,000 <hr/>

Besides about 2000 rocket men ; a corps of unarmed pioneers, of near 5000 men. well instructed and equipped ; and a com-

success of the expedition, were ordered to be offered up in the mosques ; and the jebbum\* to be performed in the Hindoo temples. His progress to the frontier was slow and circumspect ; his purchase of a considerable portion of Mahommed Ali's kelledars (governors of forts) had long been completed ; but the corps of spies whom he had sent to obtain

missariat admirably organized, under the direction of a bramin, named Poornia, one of his ministers of finance.

The detachments made for the occupation of his conquests, and the accession of recruits and whole corps after the invasion, may, I think, be computed as nearly balancing each other ; so that his disposable force, during the greater period of the war, may be taken with probable accuracy at about ninety thousand men. Of the Poligars of Calastry, Bomrauz, &c. who joined him near Arcot, it would be difficult to determine how they should be estimated ; with his army they were a dead incumbrance ; but if not with him, they might have been against him.

[Captain Innes Munro, in his narrative of the war, mentions in addition, two troops of French cavalry, under Monsieur Pimoran, 500 European infantry under Lally the Younger, and 100 guns.

Robson in his *Life of Hyder Ally*, pp. 103-104, states that in 1775, Hyder's army numbered about 70,000. No doubt in the five years from 1775-80, it was much increased.]

\* Jebbum ; a Hindoo ceremony for the attainment of a desired object ; must, (according to Butcherow, an intelligent bramin,) be performed during four successive periods, of twelve days each, until the object be attained, or its attainment indicated by some certain prognostic ; the number twelve being a quarter *mundul*, (orbit, &c. see p. 10.) which, in its application to time, is a mystical period of 48 days. The Jebbum is of various kinds, the most common is that, in which from ten to an hundred bramins, under the direction of an expert Gooroo, (high priest,) abstain during the whole period from salt, and all other condiments which promote digestion, and confine themselves to simple milk and rice, a diet which none but the strongest constitutions can sustain. Thus prepared, a detachment of the corps frequently relieved, stand in a tank up to their chests in water, beating it incessantly with their hands, and bawling out their mantrams, or incantations.

This is nearly the form of the jeobum which is always performed during a drought in Mysoor, for procuring rain. That Hyder, himself, half a Hindoo, should sanction these ceremonies, is in the ordinary course of human action ; but that Tippoo, the

employment as guides at the English head-quarters, were still expectants of place, the military councils of that nation were not sufficiently alert, even for the purposes of their enemy; there was no plan to divulge, no project to frustrate, no movement to anticipate. The routes of Hyder's columns were deliberately calculated, and combined, without the

most bigotted of Mahommedans, professing an open abhorrence and contempt for the Hindoo religion, and the bramins its teachers, destroying their temples, and polluting their sanctuaries, should never fail to enjoin the performance of the *jebbum* when alarmed by imminent danger, is, indeed, an extraordinary combination of arrogant bigotry and trembling superstition; of general intolerance, mingled with occasional respect for the object of persecution. The form above stated, is nearly that which, as the bramins continue to affirm, succeeded in causing Lord Cornwallis's first and second return from Seringapatam, and failed in saving it from General Harris, because the Goroo was not expert in the mysteries, or because some of the bramins had tasted of salt.

The belief in the magical powers of braminical incantations, is not uncommon among the Mahommedans. All the particulars are familiarly detailed, of the *jebbum* paid for by Mahommed Ali, at the expence of 5000*l.* and performed under the auspices of Achena Pundit, at the temple of Petchee Teert, S of Madras, which killed Lord Pigot; and of a second, which, after several failures, succeeded in killing Hyder Ali. This *jebbum*, for killing a particular person, is described to me to be performed by suspending a *nac* or *naga* snake, (the Cobra Capella of the Portuguese,) by the tail, from the roof of an apartment, proper incense being burned on a fire immediately below. This *jebbum*, my bramin informant tells me, is named *Sera Yag*, the former word signifying snake, the latter, fire.

The Mahommedans themselves, are sometimes initiated in these rites. I have seen, in the possession of a *Hájee*, (a person who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca,) at Madras, a bond of the late *Omdat-ul-Omra*, eldest son of Mahommed Ali, promising to pay a lac of rupees for carrying off his younger brother, *Ameer-ul-Omra* by these means, at the period when he had supplanted his elder brother. It is cautiously worded, stating, only, that he had agreed to the terms "one lac of rupees." Shortly after the execution of the bond, a mutiny of the troops occurred, in which *Ameer-ul-Omra* was wounded in the hand, and the *Hájee* demanded and obtained a part of his reward, for this incipient operation of the charm; but its completion was

necessity of adverting to contingent impediments; the corps moved to their appointed stations, on the crest of the hills; every where the blow was only suspended, until it was every where prepared; and the alarm of an invasion from Mysoor, although long and distinctly announced by two\* members of the Government, continued at Madras, to be the

slow, and when he actually died, about twelve years afterwards. the *Omdat* denied the efficacy of the charm, in producing that event; and the Hájee continued to be loud and forward, to tell every person who would listen to him, that he had performed the service, and that the Omdat had cheated him out of his reward, and forgotten his obligations as soon as he was delivered of his fears.

I also procured at Madras, and have now in my possession, a copy of the claim with which the Hájee actually presented this very bond to the commissioners appointed under authority of Parliament, for investigating the Carnatic debts, with no other reserve, than that the condition of payment was "*placing Omdut-ul-Omrah in the administration of affairs*," which condition he had fulfilled by his skill in the occult sciences.

This most impudent of impostors lived as a Chevalier d'Industrie when I left Madras, chiefly by obtaining money from the ignorant for pretended services, by his assumed influence with European gentlemen; the appearance of which he was enabled to support, by the access which his literary taste had afforded to him among the amateurs of Persian literature; unsuspecting of the sinister purposes for which it was cultivated.

[*Japd*, Sans. *Chapam*, Tamil; recitation (or muttering) of a prayer or mantra.]

\* Messrs. Johnson and Smith.

[John Whitehill assumed office as Provisional Governor on the 6th April 1780, after Sir Thomas Rumbold had resigned. He was suspended by order of the Governor-General on the 8th November 1780 and followed by Charles Smith, who held the office until 27th June 1781, when Lord Macartney assumed the Governorship. Haider entered the Carnatic on the 21st July 1780. When Sir Thomas Rumbold resigned office in April, Anthony Sadleir, a member of the service, became a Member of the Council at Fort St. George. In July, Sadleir delivered a Minute to the Council, (P.C. Vol. CXXIV, 29th July 1780) in which he commented in the strongest terms on the inaction and apathy of the Select Committee in their measures to protect the Presidency. This Minute was answered by Whitehill and Sir Hector Munro, the Commander-in-Chief, and Sadleir was suspended by a majority



topic of stupid ridicule, until the conflagration of the surrounding country, and the actual exhibition of the bleeding fugitives, roused this most extraordinary conclave from a slumber which has no example in the history of the world.

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of the Council. Charles Smith and Samuel Johnson voted against the motion. Sadleir's minute contained the most bitter criticisms on the apathy of the Government. It will be found printed in *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III, p. 196. "Private mismanagement, and not public calamity has brought us to the brink of destruction." . . . "Hyder Ally has long treated our Government with neglect and Insult, and a Government which bears Insult unavenged will naturally be supposed to bear Injustice without Resistance." . . . "We allowed the Enemy quietly to assemble their Troops upon our Frontier; we allowed our own Troops to remain scattered in different parts of the Carnatic without Stores or Guns, by the Assistance of which they might either defend themselves or act offensively; We took no pains to replenish an empty Treasury with Money, which is the Sinew of war. Destitute of means, but more so of the Abilities to exert them, we stood the stupid Spectators of our own Ruin." . . . "We had at Madras a Regiment of Europeans and two Battalions of Sepoys. The King's Regiment was at Pondamallee, and the Artillery at the Mount. Three Battalions of Sepoys were stationed at Pondicherry, and the Battalions under the command of Colonel Baillie to the Northward. The rest of the Troops were dispersed in the different Garrisons. With regard to the Nabob's Troops, they are all many months in Arrears: his Infantry, through want of Pay and want of Discipline could add no Strength to our Army: Part of six Regiments of Cavalry formed by him a few years ago have deserted to Hyder because they were not paid. . . . " He concludes his Minute, "In short, were the Measures taken intended for our Destruction and not for our Defence, they could not be more effectual. My duty to myself and to the Company, my Love for the Community, and my Station, all impell and give me a Right to speak in a language my Feeling and my Honor dictate to me. And I hope at least, if my Sentiments are not adopted, that my character will be exempted from the Shame and Disgrace to which our Conduct has already and will hereafter expose us to in the Eyes of the World." Sadleir was reinstated in Council by order of the Directors in 1781, and in 1784 he fought a duel with Lord Macartney, whom he wounded. (Barrow: *Life of the Earl of Macartney*, Vol. I, p. 299.)]

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## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

**S**INCE writing this passage\*, I have obtained from the copy of Menu, in the possession of the Pundit of the court at Seringapatam, a transcript of these texts, for the purpose of being collated and examined by Mr. Ellis; and I subjoin, without farther observation, the ingenious and learned note with which he has favoured me, leaving the passage as originally written, for the satisfaction of those readers who may think proper to prefer the copy and translation of Sir William Jones.

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*Note, by Mr. Ellis, on the 239th and 243d Verses of the Eighth Chapter of Menu.*

Menu, in his ninth chapter, see verse 41, 52, 53, &c. makes frequent mention of the land-owner, and in such terms as to leave no doubt that when this ancient work was written, private property in land existed in India. Besides these, the only two texts relating to this subject are verses 239 and 243 of the eighth book, the latter of which is so translated as not only to render doubtful what in the preceding sentence I have stated to be without doubt, but entirely to destroy the notion that private property in land obtained among the primitive inhabitants of this region of the earth.

#### THESE TEXTS ARE,

239.—“ Let the owner of the field inclose it with a hedge of thorny plants, over which a camel could not look; and let him stop every gap, through which a dog or a bear could thrust his head.”

243.—“ If land be injured by the fault of the farmer, (as, if he fails to sow it in due time), he shall be fined ten times as much as the king's share of the crop that might otherwise be raised; but only five times as much if it was the fault of his servants without his knowledge.

The words in *Italics* do not occur in the text, but are the gloss of Culluca Bhutta.

In the first of these texts an "*owner*" of land is mentioned; in the second a "*farmer*" only; but on reference to the original, the same word appears to be used to express what is here so differently translated; this word in both texts is *Cshetra Carta*, literally, landlord, the first member of the compound *Cshetram* being understood in the first text on account of its occurring in the verse immediately preceding. It appears, therefore, according to the 243d verse, and its gloss, as translated by Sir William Jones, that the *Cshetra Carta*, the primitive Indian landholder, was subject to the continual controul and interference of the officer of government in the cultivation of his lands: wherever these, from ignorance or caprice, thought proper to find fault with his mode of conducting agricultural labour, he was liable to be fined, reckoning the "king's share" one-sixth, according to verse 130, chap. 7; in one instance, four-sixths more than the whole produce; in another five-sixths of it: the *Cshetra Carta*, in defiance of the positive meaning of the word, cannot therefore be considered as the lord of the land, the proprietor of the soil; and these considerations, probably, induced Sir William Jones in this text to render the word "*farmer*," though he had before translated it "*owner*." "*Farmer*" even is a term too independent for such a wretch.

There are some reasons, however, which would lead to doubt both of the correctness of the gloss and of the translation. It is in the first place to be observed, that the division of the chapter in which these texts are found is in the original called *Swamipalana pracaranam*, the division respecting the protection of masters or owners of cattle: this *pracaranam* commences with verse 229, and ends with verse 244; and the introduction of these texts, therefore, in this place is altogether incidental. Menu, in this place, certainly does not intend to prescribe rules for the conduct of cultivation, or to regulate the mode in which government should proceed towards the cultivator for the security of its interest in the produce: this must necessarily have had place in the preceding chapter, if the legislator had chosen to notice it all. Having in the commencement of the *pracaranam* stated the extent of the responsibility of the hired servant in case of loss, accruing to the cattle entrusted to him, he proceeds to lay down rules respecting damages done by the trespass of cattle on land. As a general security against such damage, in which the state, which by law is to receive a share of the increase, is interested as well as the proprietor, he directs, in verse 339, that fields liable to trespass from their neighbourhood to pasture lands shall be sufficiently enclosed. Verses 240 and 241 contain the law as relating to herdsmen and owners, when damage is committed

either in inclosed or uninclosed fields. Verse 242 excepts certain descriptions of cattle from any fine; and verse 243, the text in question proceeds to prescribe the punishment to be inflicted on the proprietor of the land, if damage be sustained by it, and consequently by the interest of the state in the crop upon it, if he disregard, or permit his servants to disregard, the law as prescribed in verse 239. Under this view of the context, the introduction by the commentator of the first sentence in Italics (*as if he fails to sow it in due time*) is manifestly founded on misconception, as Menu makes no reference whatever to *loss sustained from neglect in sowing*, but *damages sustained by the trespass of cattle from neglect in enclosing lands*: this meaning is corroborated by reference to the original, in which the word *layam*, which, as a legal term, should be translated *damage*, means literally *damage by positive injury, destruction by violent means*, and never mere loss from accident or neglect, which the legislator would have expressed by the appropriate term *nashtam*, had he meant what his commentator attributes to him.

Still, however, a great difficulty exists in considering the Cshetra Carta as absolute proprietor, while he is subject to the enormous fine directed by the text itself to be imposed on him. In verse 232 of this pracaranam, the herdsman, when neglect has caused the loss of a beast, is only liable to make it good; but here the landholder for similar neglect not only makes good the loss sustained by the state, but forfeits the actual produce of his land, and is fined nearly as much again—a punishment preposterous under any mode of land tenure, but absolutely precluding the idea that the holder so liable can be proprietor of the soil.

A reference, however, to the text as it exists in the southern copies, obviates this difficulty, and affords a clue by which the error which misled Sir William Jones in the translation of this text may be detected. The following translation, compared with the original and Sir William Jones's version, will explain this.

## ORIGINAL TEXT.

Cshétra Carta	laye	dandah
The Land Lord	on account } of damage }	is to be punished.

<sup>1</sup> Bhógad	<sup>3</sup> dasa	<sup>2</sup> guno	bhavet
from the produce	a tenth	rate	be it

Iad	árdhá	dándó	bhreyānam
of that	half	the punishment	of the negligences
W H			52*

Agn'yan'at  
from ignorance

Cshâitricasya tu  
of his labourer.

(1) *Bhogam*.—This word signifies, primarily, enjoyment : secondarily, the produce of land, or of any thing that can be enjoyed : it may mean here the entire enjoyment, the whole produce, the *portion enjoyed* by the Cshetra Carta, or the *portion enjoyed* by the state. The grammatical construction appears to favour the former meaning, though the word may stand in apposition with Cshetra Carta, which occurs in the former part of the sentence ; but it cannot bear any connection with Raja, which is nowhere expressed or understood ; the remainder of the gloss, therefore, namely, the word " kings," and the words " of the crop that might otherwise have been raised," is wholly irrelevant. Bhogat is the fifth or ablative case, called by Sanscrit grammarians ayádánam, *the taking from*. (2) *Guno* signifies, primarily, quality, here *rate* ; it is in the singular, and governs the verb *bhavet*. (3) *Dasa*, in composition, has as often an ordinal as a numeral signification. The correct translation of the text therefore is :

" The landlord is to be punished in case of damage by a *fine equal to a tenth part of the produce, or half of that, if from the negligence of his labourer, unknown to him.*"

On comparing this with Sir W. Jones's translation, it is evident that he must have read this text differently, or he could not have written " ten times as much as the share," instead of " a tenth of the produce ; " but this discrepancy is easily reconciled, by supposing the word *bhaga* to be substituted in the northern copies for bhógat, and the second line of this verse to be read

Bhaga	dasa guno	bhavet
As much as the share,	a tenth rate,	be it,

which would afford some colour for his translation, though it would not explain why he rendered *guno*, in the plural, " times," while the verb *bhavet* is in the singular. There's can, however, be little doubt that he thus read it ; and this substitution of *bhaga* for *bhoga* must have taken place in the northern copies, previously to the time of Culluca, Bhutta, as appears by his endeavouring to render the term *bhaga*, *share*, precise, by introducing the word " kings," without perceiving that he makes the whole nonsense by the enormous fine to which he subjects the landholder. This substitution, and the mode of commentary, evince that the northern government had long before the Moslem conquests encroached on the rights of the subject ; and that they found, as other instances also prove, no lack of legal quibble, and perhaps

legal forgery, among the interpreters of the law, when they wished to sanctify these usurpations in the eyes of the people, by adducing the authority of the ancient books in support of them.

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## No. II.

The first of these is an inscription on stone found at Canchi or Conjeveram, written partly in *Ellacanun* the ancient, and partly in the modern *Tamul*.

It begins with the usual invocations, and recites that it was written during the government (probably provincial) "of *Bookana Wadeyar*, and *Veera Cambana Wadeyar*, after the Sahabdam, or year of Salivahan, 1222, in the year of the Hindoo cycle *Plava*, viz., A.D. 1301, the sun being in the sign of Aquarius, in the first fortnight of the moon, on the eleventh day, being Thursday, under the star *Poonur pooshum*."

"In the land of victory, *Chola Mundulum*" (Coromandel)—then follows a detail, shewing the division, the township, and the quarter of the township—"Moodeliar Nacheyar, otherwise called Yellantalayal, daughter of Tomoondi Achachè, the slave of Peroomal among the Dasicul, dancing women, (announced) "of my own consent my own *Canyatchi*, two manas situated"—Here follows a detailed account of its boundaries, the property being a small patch within the town.—"These two pieces of ground of mine, in the midst of these four boundaries, I consent to sell. Who will buy? Thus she proclaimed; which being heard, then answered *Ayapaningar*, son of *Anna Coopaningar*, of the tribe, &c. &c. If you sell at my price I will buy." Then the said woman (repeating her names) and the purchaser *Aayapaningar*, both said, we consent and agree for ourrent money without blemish, pannums\* twenty-seven.—"These two grounds, with their groves, trees, shrubs, and parasitical plants, all these I have sold and have received the money without objection, and have delivered my original bills of sale; there is no doubt with regard to (the title of) these grounds: if any doubt should occur, I will stand up and remove it. These grounds he may sell or grant in charity to any one, and alienate at his pleasure: and their price being fixed at auction at twenty-seven pannums, which I have received without balance, they are hereby transferred to *Ayapaningar*, son, &c. with full consent, by *Nacheyar*, &c. in the presence of *Aroolala Veejayaramum*.

(Signed) AROOLALA VEEJAYARAMUM.

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\* What the value of the pannum of that day may have been, I do not know.

The second, an inscription on copper, begins with the usual invocation; and after reciting the praises of the king (Deva Raya of Vijayanuggur), in thirty-three extravagant compound epithets, proceeds:

"When he was ruling the kingdom in the year of the Cali-Yoog, 4517, of Salivahan\*, 1349, (A.D. 1416) after the year (of the cycle) *Plava*; the 21st of Maasee; the 5th of the increasing moon under the star Rogany. On that auspicious day was written this bill of sale.

"In the land of victory, Tonda† Mundalum, in (here follow the divisions and sub-divisions) the village or township of *Coom Mungalum*, situated, &c. &c. *Mootoo Naig*, the son of *Andiapa Naick*, of the cast, &c. &c. who resides in the village of *Velloda*, situated near the said *Coom Mungalum*, he and his relations *Oam*, agreed or united (proclaimed).

"The village of *Velloda*, half of which is my *Canyatchi*, will any body buy my half village? thus he proclaimed. These words being heard were answered in the said *Mundalum*, in the said division, in the said *Naad*. *Cota, Perrie Broomoo Setty*, of the village of *Wopaulakum*, of the *Vyasa* cast, he and his kindred with one consent answered, We will buy. Then the said parties (repeating their names) agreed and fixed the price in the presence of the bramins of *Coom Mungalum*, at one hundred and twenty-five new *Varaha* (Pagodas)‡." Here follows the measurement of the lands, which I cannot reduce for want of a knowledge of the value of the ancient measures. "We have sold our part, and received the consideration or value fixed. This is the price: twice: thrice: the said *Canyatchi* of ours you may enjoy while the sun and moon endure. There is no doubt (in the title) of

\* There has probably been some error in copying or engraving one of these dates. A learned paper by Mr. Davis, in the 3d volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 16, traces astronomically the source of an increasing error, amounting in 1791 to eleven years, between the reckoning of the Deekan and that of Benares; and the date of this document, according to the year of Salivahan, differs to that exact extent from the reckoning of the Deekan, which would bring the two modes of reckoning, viz., the Cali Yoog, and Salivahan, to coincide in A.D. 1416; still, however, the year of the cycle *Plava* would differ six years from the coincidence of the other two. But exclusively of the probability of error in the copy, it appears to me that farther investigation is necessary for unravelling some variations of reckoning in different parts of India, which do not seem to depend on astronomical errors. For example, the astronomers of the Deekan reckon the commencement of the era of Salivahan in the year *Pramadee*, or the 18th of the cycle of sixty: while those of Mysore reckon its commencement in the preceding year *Bhoudantid*, or the 12th of the cycle; and this difference of one year appears to be invariable in all inscriptions ancient and modern of those two countries.

† *Tonda Mundalum* was the portion of *Chola Mundalum* which corresponded nearly with what is named at this time the province of Arcot. It extended along the coast, from Cheddember (Chillumbrum) to Pallacate, and westward to the first range of hills. It received this name from the son of the Chola Raja, who subdued it.

‡ *Pagoda*, or *Pagod*.—I can offer neither information nor satisfactory conjecture regarding this name, which we find applied by Europeans to a gold coin and to the Indian temples; and can only affirm that the name is not, as

the said *Canyatchi*. If any doubt occurs we are ready to remove it.

"In consequence of the agreement of Mootoo Naig and his kindred with *Cota Broomoo Setty*, we have thus confirmed it, and granted this bill of sale of our *Canyatchi* land."

"This is the hand-writing of

"MOOTOO NAIG,

"of the village of Coom Mungalum."

Subscribed by eight witnesses from  
the above recited and other  
neighbouring villages.

The third is a bill of sale in the Mackenzie collection, of which I have before me two translations, and adopt that by Mr. George Hughes, a native of India, perfectly conversant with the Tamul language, in which the original is written; and well-informed on the general subject of Indian agriculture, in which he at one time carried on considerable speculations.

Be it propitious!

On this fortunate day, Monday the 16th of the month Ahvany, of the year (of the cycle) Kahlyuktee, in the year of *Salivahan* 1720, and of the *Cali Yug* 4899, being the third day of the increasing moon, under the auspicious conjunction and happy influence of the constellations Ashanatte and Magarum: *Kistina Sawmey Pilla* of Cunnatoor, the son of *Vencatachelum Pilla*, for himself and his house executes this deed of sale of land to *Cumana Sawmey Pilla*. That is to say: Of the twenty-eight established shares of Cunnatoor, I have made a full and complete sale to you of my own two shares therein for one hundred chuckrums; and you having paid, and I having received the said one hundred chuckrums for the said two shares: therefore,

stated in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, applied to either of those objects by the Indians, nor known to them in any sense whatever. The Persian etymologies which have been attempted come no nearer than *But-khana* and *But-kedda* —the house, and the place of idols; but neither of these terms approach the sound given to the word Pagoda in any of the European languages.

*Varaha*, the boar, one of the incarnations of Vishnou, was the emblem which the Rajas of Vijayanuggur adopted as the impression on their gold coins, and the coin itself was and is named *Varaha* in consequence, in the Hindoo languages of the south. The ignorant Mohammedans believed that the figure of this abhorred animal had been adopted as a mark of defiance or derision towards them.

*Hun*, or *Hoen*, is the name which Persians, Moguls, Usbecks, Afghans, and natives of Hindostan, continue to give to this and similar gold coins of the south. It is the Canarese name for *gold*, and the plunder of the capital of Carnatic carried with it this name through Hindostan to the plains of Tartary. Hunna, henna, munna, say the Canarese (gold, woman, land), are the three objects from which it is most difficult to withdraw our attachment.



possess the nunja, punja (wet and dry lands), trees, groves, gardens, hillocks, water, wood, stone, and treasures; the well that points beneath, the tree that points above, *together with all property belonging in common thereto* within its four boundaries. Your children from generation to generation are free to bestow, to exchange, or to dispose of it at their pleasure. Possess and enjoy it as long as the sun and moon, the earth and its vegetation, the mountains and the river Cauvery, exist; and all prosperity attend you. Thus it is subscribed by me *Kistna Sawmey Pilla*, with my full consent to *Cumana Sawmey Pilla*. This deed is written by *Mootoo Sawmey*, the village Conicopoly.

Witnesses,

(Signed) KISTNA SAWMEY.

ARNACHELUM,  
SUNKALINGUM,  
SHUMMOGUM.

A few days before I left Madras I had the satisfaction to know, from a judgment pronounced in the Supreme Court, that the rights of which I am the humble advocate are capable of being substantiated by direct proof in a regular court of law.

The revenues of the village of *Tondiarpet*, near to the black town of Madras, were formerly received by the collector of the jageer, who, like other collectors before the establishment of the Zilla, or provincial courts, had also a certain jurisdiction within the limits of his collection.

Dissentions had arisen between the *Vellalers*, *Meerassdars*, or *Canyatchikars* of that village and the *Pyacarees* (or *Graminy*; as they are sometimes called in the proceedings), which had more than once been carried into the mayor's court, but the points at issue do not appear ever to have touched the direct question of the proprietary right of the land.

In the year 1794, for some reasons which are not distinctly known to me, the *Vellalers*\* were forcibly ejected from the village under the authority of the collector, and possession was given to the *Pyacarees*. The suit was an ejectment brought by the *Vellalers* to recover the village.

A complete body of evidence was adduced, entering into many of the details which I have stated, and establishing, to the entire satisfaction of the court, the hereditary right of the *Vellalers* to the landed property of the township. Owing to an error in point of form, viz. the want of proof of present possession in the defendants of that which the action was brought to recover (for the possession had much changed since 1794, and perhaps while the suit was pending), a verdict was given for the defendants on

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\* For the meaning and etymology of this term, see page 182.

the 26th of September, 1808. But the proprietary right of the *Vellalers* was recognized without reserve by the court; and as I understand, they will now bring separate ejectments against the several possessors of the different parts, and obtain verdicts as a matter of course.

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### No. III

Of the actual system for the administration of justice to the native subjects of British India I wish to speak with respect, because it originated and has been continued in the purest intentions. On the political question I presume to risk but one short observation. It is impossible to separate the political tendency of laws from the genius of the government from which they emanate. The spirit of the English constitution assigns to the mass of the people an extensive control over the exercise of public authority; and deems the executive government to be the representative of the public will. This spirit pervades the whole body of its laws; these laws necessarily reflect back, and reproduce the principles from which they spring and it is matter for grave reflection, that if this species of reaction should ever be produced in India, from that moment it is lost to this country for ever. The efficient protection of our native subjects in all the rights which they themselves consider to be essential to their happiness, is certainly the most sacred and imperious of all our duties; and it is on this express ground that our present regulations, considered as a system of jurisprudence for the south of India, appear to me to require a radical reform.

To apply the *criminal law of Arabia*, the most defective on earth, and the least capable of correction, to the Hindoo subjects of Great Britain under the government of Fort St. George, is just not quite so absurd as to import the criminal law of Japan. If it were even admitted that the principles of the *Koran* are more susceptible of improvement than the law of the Hindoos, the absurdity would still remain of governing that people by a *foreign bad code*, when we may with equal facility govern them by a *foreign good code*; namely, the English law, which even in point of prescription\* had a local existence before the scourge of Mohammedan conquest and Mohammedan law had yet reached the plains of Coromandel.

In the *civil code* we profess to administer justice according to the laws of the parties. This subject requires a more ample

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\* The first establishments of the English on the eastern coast of the peninsula were at Masulipatam and Armagon; the latter was founded in 1626. The first grant from *Sree Rung Rayaol* of territory at Madras is dated in 1699. The first invasion of the territory, now improperly named the Carnatic, by the Mohammedan forces of Vijayapoor and Golconda, occurred in 1646.

discussion than can be given in the compass of a note. The essential nature and objects of justice are everywhere uniform : the end is the same, the means are various. The principles of law in different countries do not materially vary ; particular laws or regulations consist less in declaring principles, than in applying them to existing customs, and not unfrequently in a bare enunciation of the forms of legal proceeding. With a people like the Hindoos, among whom religion, and law, and the forms of legal proceeding, are all of equal sanctity, and considered to have the same divine origin, the substitution of the forms of Westminster Hall for the forms prescribed in their sacred codes, or rendered equally venerable by immemorial usage, if not a subversion of an important part of their legal system, is at least a violation of customs which we profess to respect. Principles in all countries are understood by a number sufficiently small; forms by every one : and if we can condescend to govern the Hindoos by their own forms, we may (I do not affirm that we ought) correct the principles of their law without its being generally observed or opposed. But holding in constant recollection the character of the people to be governed, it is incontestable that we may introduce Mohammedan or English law, both, or either, directly, or covertly, without the most distant chance of any influence, immediate or remote, in ameliorating the morals of the people, or changing their opinions, in any other way than that of producing disgust at our rule.

) Exclusively of forms, I fear that some fundamental errors of principle have been committed. Imprisonment for debt, for example, which is considered by all philosophical reasoners as one of the most defective institutions of European jurisprudence, is unknown to the ancient codes, or to the common law of the south of India, and is repugnant to all the habits which so peculiarly separate that race from the rest of mankind. But this terrible and most offensive innovation has been introduced into the English civil code, which professes to govern the Hindoos by their own laws. The distinction of casts, which is absolutely the key-stone of Hindoo law, has unfortunately either not been recognized at all in our laws and regulations, or indirectly treated with contempt ; thus insulting the higher, without gratifying the lower classes ; and, added to the novelty of our forms, exciting in both the apprehension of farther change. It would be absurd and unjust to impute to the authors of this system the intention of proselytism ; and it can only be lamented that it has contributed, among other causes, to produce the belief of such an intention. But if, as some publications\* give reason to believe, such views have really been entertained by other persons, it will

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\* The reader who may desire farther information regarding these views will find them described and discussed in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xii, p. 161.

be incumbent on sober thinkers seriously to consider that, exclusively of the excess of visionary folly, it is a most unmanly, ungenerous, and unchristian deception to veil this object under the pretext of respecting the civil and religious customs and prejudices of the people; for all their prejudices, all their opinions, and all their customs, from the most trifling to the most important, are absolutely incorporated with their religion, and ought all to be held sacred.

The founder of a philosophical Utopia would certainly reject with abhorrence a system which tends to enslave the human mind, and to entail hereditary degradation on a large portion of his citizens. But we are not here discussing a speculative theory. The objects in our contemplation are not metaphysical entities to be moulded into ideal forms; but human beings, already fixed in stubborn and immoveable prejudices, to which any system founded in wisdom and humanity must necessarily conform. It is not the question, it never can be a question, whether the English or the Hindoo code of religion and jurisprudence be entitled to the preference: but whether the Hindoo law and religion, for they are one and the same, are, or are not, to be maintained, or whether we are at liberty to invade both. If we profess to govern the Hindoos by their own laws, let us not falsify that profession by tearing them up by the roots on the pretence of pruning and amending them. They are no longer Hindoo if they are subject to innovation. Before quitting this branch of the subject, it may be useful (for the sake of illustration) to examine the reasonableness of interfering with the most exceptionable of all their institutions.) It has been thought an abomination not to be tolerated, that a widow should immolate herself on the funeral pile of her deceased husband. But what judgment should we pronounce on the Hindoo, who (if any of our institutions admitted the parallel) should *forcibly* pretend to stand between a Christian and the hope of eternal salvation? And shall we not hold him to be a driveller in politics and morals, a fanatic in religion, and a pretender in humanity, who would *forcibly* wrest this hope from the Hindoo widow? To return to the question of cast. To equalize them is impossible; to attempt it, offensive beyond all endurance to those whom we would exalt, as well as to those whom we would debase; and if we possessed the power, to exercise it would be a gross and intolerable oppression. That our regulations, where they do extend, and where they have not yet reached, are considered with terror as the instruments of a foreign rule, and that the Hindoos neither do nor can feel that they are governed by their own laws, seems to have been distinctly foreseen by the able and learned officer\* who aided in

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\* The Judge Advocate General, Major Leith.

the first compilation of the judicial regulations of Fort St. George. In a preliminary report he deprecates the idea of sudden innovation, and observes, "that the system ought rather to grow out of the first germ, than start at once, full grown, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, shaking a lance and ægis at the astonished native. They will arise gradually, as the best laws ever have done, out of the manners and habits of the people, meliorating and reflecting back the principles they have derived from them."

In framing a new and full grown system (since, however, exceedingly enlarged), the excellent and able men who were employed naturally referred to the system of jurisprudence which we are all habituated to revere, for their rules, their forms, and modes of proceeding, down in many instances to the very technical terms. Fixed judges and magistrates have been established, and courts of appeal, of circuit, and gaol delivery, with all their English appendages; and a superior Hindoo court, with a Perso-Arabic title, administered by Englishmen; and it has already become a difficult study to be able to understand the voluminous code which has been framed. Of all this I should wish to speak with reverence; but really an enormous amount of technical labour, and skill, and expence, and the application of most respectable talents, terminates in performing the proposed operation very ill, or not at all: the component parts are clogged by their own complexity and misapplication; the machinery of an Arnold's chronometer has been applied to perform the work of a smoke-jack.

If Anglo-Indian legislators would throw off a little of that which they somewhat too largely ascribe to the natives of India, namely, the prejudice of education, they would find the rules of proceeding prescribed by the Hindoo code (with all its numerous imperfections on its head), combined with the local customs, or common law of India, not ill adapted to the state of society to which it is intended to apply; and in the *Panchaïet* or *Indian jury*\*, which is (or rather was) universally established in the south as the common law of the land, an admirable instrument of practical decision. The Hindoo character, like all others, is of a mixed nature, but it is composed of strange and contradictory elements. The man who may be safely trusted for uniformly unfolding the whole truth to an European in whom he reposes confidence, may be expected to equivocate, and even to contradict every word he has said, if called on to repeat it in presence of a third person whom he either fears or suspects; and in one of these descriptions he usually includes all strangers. The same description of man

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\* An institution so entirely neglected or misunderstood, that I believe its existence is now, for the first time, presented to the notice of the English public.

sometimes the same individual, who from pique, and often without any intelligible motive, will perjure\* himself without shame or compunction at a public trial, is faithful, kind, and respectable in the intercourse of society ; and the single but notorious fact of habitual lending and borrowing of money and effects, among the husbandmen, without bond, or note, or witness, abundantly proves, that this people, apparently so destitute of morals in one view of their character, are in another habitually honest and true in their dealings ; that they mutually trust, and deserve to be trusted. The more intimately they are known, the more favourable is the judgment of every good and humane European on the character of this interesting people ; but fully to understand them, requires to have lived and been educated among them, as one of themselves ; and I conscientiously believe, that for the purpose of discriminating the motives of action, and the chances of truth in the evidence of such a people, the mature life of the most acute and able European judge devoted to that single object would not place him on a level with an intelligent Hindoo Panchayet.

To govern the Hindoos in reality, and not in pretence, by their own laws and customs, civil and criminal, would admit of extensive aid in judges and juries (panchajets) from among the natives themselves, checked without material danger of corruption by a reduced scale of European controul. The new establishments of police, on which large sums have been unnecessarily expended, might be entirely retrenched by putting in activity the admirable institutions of village officers, and directing, instead of attempting to destroy this excellent instrument of police ; of which I speak, not from vague tradition of what it has been, but from a close observation of what it is. If theory required that the judicial functions should be rendered distinct from the fiscal, it seemed equally to demand the separation of the duties of magistrate and judge, which have been united in the new system with the most obvious practical inconvenience. There may have been a real propriety in preventing the fiscal officer from being the judge in a contested case of fiscal demand (although we do not see this propriety practically acknowledged in England) but beyond this there seems to have been little necessity for the cumbrous establishments to which we have adverted.

These suggestions, however imperfect, are not the result of loose or solitary remarks, but the consequence of deliberate discussion, with some of the most able and efficient instruments of

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\* The branch of Hindoo law which refers to this object is dreadfully objectionable, but the practical rules of evidence are calculated to correct it. I feel that the reproach of English prejudice applies in a certain degree to some of my observations on this subject in 1804: and I regret having made them at all, because they have been misapprehended; and I have been quoted in courts of law for what I have not written.

the present system, of a careful and vigilant observation of the conduct and practical operation of a Hindoo court, which has been established within the last five years at Mysoor; and of a coincidence with the mature judgment of regular English lawyers, free from the trammels of their profession. The names of some of these, if I were at liberty to adduce them, would give irresistible weight to the opinions which I have attempted to sketch.

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#### No. IV.

From conversation with some intelligent Jungum priests, I learn that they derive the name from a contraction of the three words, junnana, to be born; gummana, to move; murrana, to die. The word jungum thus constantly reminds them of the most important dogma of the sect, namely, that the man who performs his duties in this world shall be exempted from these changes in a future state of existence, and shall immediately after death be re-united with the divine spirit from which he originally emanated. This doctrine, not altogether unknown to the braminal code, is pushed by the jungum to the extent of denying the metempsychosis altogether. This sect condemns as useless and unmeaning the incessant detail of external ceremonies, which among the bramins of every persuasion occupies the largest portion of their time, and forms the great business of their lives. The jungum disclaim the authority of these gods upon earth, as they impiously and familiarly call themselves. The priests of the jungum are all of the fourth or servile cast, and habitually distinguish the bramins by the opprobrious appellation of dogs; yet, strange to tell, in some districts, by reciprocal concessions, and a coalition of religious dogmas with temporal interests, they have descended to receive as their spiritual preceptors the cast of which they have been successively the martyrs and persecutors, and are consequently considered as heretics or renegadoes by the genuine jungum.

The religion which inculcates what is real, in preference to the observance of form, is, according to this sect, of great antiquity; and they consider Chen Bas Ishwur, a native of Callian in the Deckan, the reputed founder of the sect in the eleventh century, to have been only the restorer of the ancient true belief; and in spite of the most sanguinary persecutions, they are found scattered in considerable numbers over the Concan, Canara, Deckan, Mysoor, and every part of the south of India, and constitute a considerable portion of the population of Coorg, the Raja himself being of that persuasion, as were the former Rajas of Mysoor, Bednore, and Soonda.

The fanciful notions of internal and external purity and uncleanness (the former having a twofold division of bodily and mental) are the foundation of most of the distinction of casts which seem so absurd to Europeans. To the question of what is the difference between such and such a cast, the first answer will certainly be to indicate what they respectively can and cannot eat; but when we consider the plausible dogma not altogether unknown in Europe, that a regular and abstemious life (which they would name the internal purity of the body) contributes to mental excellence, we may be disposed to judge with more charity of the absurdity of these distinctions. The Jungum priests and the elect among their disciples abstain altogether from animal food; while the Sheneveea bramins of the Concan and the Deckan indulge in fish; and many of Bengal, Hindostan, and Cashmire, eat the flesh of fawn, of mutton, and whatever is slain in sacrifice: the bramins of the south abhor these abominations, but the latter at least is distinctly authorised by Menu and all the ancient Smirtis, as the most bigoted are compelled to admit.

In the leading traits of the doctrine of the Jungum which have hitherto been noticed we recognize the hand of a rational reformer. The sequel is not so favourable. The Jungum profess the exclusive worship of Siva; and the appropriate emblem of that deity in its most obscene form, enclosed in a diminutive silver or copper shrine, or temple, is suspended from the neck of every votary as a sort of personal god; and from this circumstance they are usually distinguished by the name of *Ling-ayet* or *Lingevunt*. They profess to consider Siva as the only God; but on the subject of this mode of devotion they are not communicative, and the other sects attribute to them not very decent mysteries. It is however a dogma of general notoriety, that if a Jungum has the mischance to lose his personal God, he ought not to survive that misfortune.

Poornia, the present minister of Mysoor, relates an incident of a *Ling-ayet* friend of his who had unhappily lost his portable God, and came to take a last farewell. The Indians, like more enlightened nations, readily laugh at the absurdities of every sect but their own, and Poornia gave him better counsel. It is a part of the ceremonial preceding the sacrifice of the individual, that the principal persons of the sect should assemble on the bank of some holy stream, and placing in a basket the lingam images of the whole assembly, purify them in the sacred waters. The destined victim, in conformity to the advice of his friend, suddenly seized the basket and overturned its contents into the rapid Caveri. Now, my friends, said he, we are on equal terms: let us prepare to die together. The discussion terminated according to expectation. The whole party took an oath of inviolable secrecy,



and each privately provided himself with a new image of the lingam.

Mr. Ellis considers the Jungum of the upper countries, and the Pandarum of the lower, to be of the same sect, and both to deny in the most unequivocal terms the doctrine of the metempsychosis. A manuscript in the Mackenzie collection ascribes the origin of the Pandaruma, as a sacerdotal order of the servile cast, to the religious disputes which terminated in the suppression of the Jain religion in the Pandian (Madura) kingdom, and the influence which they attained, to the aid which they rendered to the bramins in that controversy but this origin seems to require confirmation. In a large portion, perhaps in the whole, of the braminical temples dedicated to Siva in the provinces of Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevely, the *Pandarum* is the high priest of the temple, and has the entire direction of the revenues, but allows the bramins to officiate in the ceremonial part according to their own good pleasure, as a concern altogether below his notice. He has generally the reputation of an irreproachable life, and is treated by the bramins of the temple with great reverence; while on his part he looks down with compassion at the absurd trifles which occupy their attention.

These facts seem to point to some former revolution in which a Jungum government obtained the superiority over the braminical establishments, and adopted this mild mode of superseding the substantial part of their authority. It is a curious instance of the *svoder* being the spiritual lord of the *bramin*, and is worthy of farther historical investigation. A dynasty of *Beejul Rai* ruled at *Callian*, but the extent of their dominions, and the duration or exact æra of this dynasty, is at present uncertain. I find it placed in my notes from the Mackenzie manuscripts between the Cadumba and the Chola.

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## No. V.

*Jain*.—For a particular account of this singular sect the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches may be consulted. The following abstract is the result of several conversations with Dhermia, a Jain bramin far advanced in years, whom Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie has discovered and taken into his service since that essay was written; and corresponds in what relates to their doctrines with the notes of similar discussions taken by Pere Dubois, a worthy and intelligent missionary who has lived for seventeen years among the Hindoos as one of themselves.

The ancient religion of India, and, as Dhermia supposes, of the whole world, was uniform: namely, the *worship of one God*, a

pure spirit, indivisible, without form, or extent, or any corporeal attribute, omniscient, all powerful, possessing infinite wisdom, and *infinite happiness*. Absorbed in the contemplation of his own perfections, he interferes in no respect in the government of the universe, or in terrestrial concerns. Having originally given to all things their appointed order and course of action; having rendered punishment the inevitable result of vice, and happiness after death the sure reward of virtue; he leaves mankind to the consequences of their actions, and considers with indifference the complicated effects of good and evil upon earth which necessarily arise from the operation of free will.

After death the virtuous go to *Hoordwaloga* (Paradise), and the wicked to *Ashdaloqa* (Hell), for a determined number of years, according to the measure of their actions upon earth; at the expiration of that period they return again on earth to a new state of existence, determined also by their conduct in the last; and thus to circulate through various transmigrations. But a superior degree of sanctity purifies the soul from the grossness of corporeal contact, and causes it to be reunited for ever with the divine spirit. The twenty-four Teerters, or saints, of this religion have thus been deified, and they are worshipped accordingly, as being intimately and inseparably united with God.

Although the fourfold division of casts prevails among the Jain, and they, like the ordinary Hindoos, have their bramins, we are obliged for want of more convenient terms to discriminate the sects, by calling the doctrine of the latter that of the *bramins*, and the former that of the *Jain*. To the bramins the Jain attribute all the corruptions of the present state of religion; the fabrication of the four vedas; the eighteen *Pooranas*; the blasphemous doctrine of the Trimourty, or three Gods, and the monstrous fables which relate to it; the Avatars of Vishnool; the obscene worship of the lingam, of cows and snakes, of the sun, the stars, the planets, and the elements; the sacredness of the waters of the Ganges, and other rivers; and the whole catalogue of modern superstition. These corruptions, as the Jain affirms, did not take place at once, but have been gradually introduced; and among them the crime of murder, in the sacrifice of animals, which though less frequent now than at some former times, is still practised in the Egniam.

Even the remnant of the Jain which had survived the repeated persecutions incited by the bramins has not escaped the corruption of the times; and the rites of their religion in the temples formerly most sacred (as those of Canara, Baligola, and Mudgery) are now performed by unqualified persons of the third cast; whom Dhernia considers as heretics. I have myself conversed with the *Gcorons* of the two former places, mentioned by Major Mackenzie and Doctor Buchanan in the ninth volume of the

Asiatic Researches; and they have acknowledged to me that they are Vaysias. The Jain bramins appear to have been the select objects of persecution; and in all Mysoor not more than fifty or sixty families now remain. I have heard of none in any other part of the south, and the only temple where the rites of the religion are duly performed is in the small village of Maleyoor, of which Dhermia is one of the officiating priests.

The bramins relate with exultation the *lacs* of Jain who have been destroyed at different periods, in persecutions which appear to have been more sanguinary than any recorded in the western world: and the following brief notice of these persecutions is taken chiefly *from the bramins*, and from documents in the Mackenzie collection. The earliest persecutor of the Jain of whom I have received any distinct account is *Bhutt Acharya*, who lived about or before the commencement of the christian æra. This person had become the disciple of a Jain Gooroo\* for the express purpose of learning the philosophy of that sect (in which the bramins admit that they excelled), and thus defeating them with their own weapons. He betrayed what he found exceptionable in their doctrines; and after having excited against them the most active persecution, finally condemned himself to perish by a slow fire, as an expiation for the crime of *having betrayed his Gooroo*. In the act of sustaining this punishment at *Hurdwar*, where the Ganges enters Hindostan, he was visited by the celebrated *Sancara Acharya*, a native of Kerala or Malabar. In the midst of his sufferings *Bhutt Acharya* instructed this apt disciple, and exhorted him to continue the holy work of persecution; an injunction which *Sancara Acharya* effectually observed in his travels through every part of India. The Jain religion however continued to flourish to the south, to the extent of being professed by several dynasties of kings, among whom we may enumerate with some certainty a very ancient dynasty which ruled at or near Conjeveram before that part of Draurveda was conquered or colonized by the Chola dynasty, and assumed the name of Tondamundelum, from the name of the son of the Chola king who commanded the expedition; the Pandian ruling at Madura; and a branch of it in Canara; and the Hoisala or Bellals who ruled at Doorasummoder, now called Hallabede, near the western range of the hills of Mysoor. In 1133 *Ramanuja* or *Ramanujacharee*, the famous Vishnavite reformer, flying from the persecution of a king of the *Chola* dynasty in Tanjore of the sect of *Siva*, who exacted a confession of faith from all his subjects, ascended to Mysoor, and converted to the Vishnavite religion the reigning king of the last mentioned dynasty, named *Veera Narsa Bellal*, who thenceforth assumed the name of

*Vishnoo Verdana*; and it is to the persecution of this period that the bramins exultingly refer for the final extinction of the Jain, by the most extensive slaughter and unheard of torments, one of which was that of grinding them in an oil-mill.

The relative antiquity of the Jain and the bramins cannot perhaps at present be decided: there is little room to doubt that they were originally the same, and the question would relate to the doctrine which each of them pretend to have preserved unpolluted. But it appears to me incontestable, that the distinction of doctrine and separation of sects had taken place before the expedition of Alexander. On asking Dhermia the reason of prefixing the popular term *Sravana* to the names of all their temples, he tells me that the word is a corruption of *Sramana*, the most usual term for the sect, or rather for the holy persons belonging to it: he enumerated six other distinctive terms which are indiscriminately applied to them viz., *Arhata*, *Digumbera*, *Jenna*, *Jaina*, and *Pramana*. It will not probably be questioned that the *Sramana* are the *Sarmanes*, *Germanes*, *Samanes*; and *Pramana* the *Pramnæ* of the ancient authors of the west. Strabo would seem to consider the *Germanes*, and the *Pramnæ* as distinct sects; but both are said to be opponents of the *Brachmanes*, and the latter particularly to ridicule their study of astrology. It may be noticed as a confirmation of the distinction of doctrine at this period, that Philostratus and Pliny speak of the *Brachmanes* as worshipping the sun; but although some obscurity may be expected in the imperfect information of the ancients, I do not find this worship any where attributed to the *Sarmanes* or *Pramnæ*, who to this day hold it in abhorrence. The *Zarmanochagas*, noticed so much by ancient authors for having publicly destroyed himself at Athens, was probably a Jain. In a note on Strabo lib. 15—1048, on this name, we are told that old manuscripts (*Veteres libri*) have two distinct words, *Zarmanas* and *Chagas*, and Dion Cassius names this person *Zarmanes* without any addition. *Sramana-ganna*, as Dhermia informs me, is the usual form of speech to indicate the sect of Jain.

The following substance of an extract from a Jain Pooranam in the Mackenzie collection is at least curious. The last of the Teerters named *Verdamanna*, studied along with his sister's son *Parswa Butarick*: the latter becoming jealous of the superior progress of his relative in the established studies, sought another path to distinction by the invention of a new religion, chiefly supported by *magical illusions*. He converted by these means many kings, and chiefly extended his religion to the west, from whence (the Jain very strangely imagine that) after suffering many subsequent corruptions and changes it returned to India, under the form of the Mohammedan religion. This person commenced the promulgation of his new religion when he was

thirtythree years of age : the æra of his contemporary *Verdamana*, the last of the Teartas (but whether his birth, death, or sanctification I do not find in my notes) is the conclusion of the fourth age, according to the chronology of the Jain ; of the fifth 2466 had elapsed in 1807, which places its commencement in 659 B. C. ; a period sufficiently near to the supposed æra of Zoroaster to render the coincidences very remarkable. In a curious but mutilated manuscript history of Persia formerly in the possession of Colonel Close, but now I fear irrevocably lost, I recollect the narrative of a war between Iran and Turan in consequence of the king of the former having embraced the *new religion* of *Zerdusht*, which the king of Turan in a letter full of reproach terms the *foolish doctrines of a stranger*.

If the other circumstances of coincidence should appear to be satisfactory, the difference of name will be found to furnish no objection. Zerdusht or Zeradusht, the person whom we name Zoroaster, probably assumed that fanciful title (signifying the *leader* of a flock of those descriptions of birds which observe a regular order of flight) when he became the founder of a sect.

Whatever in other respects may be the state of science in the ancient books of the Jain ; Dhermia is a proficient in logic, and a very acute metaphysician. This intelligent and venerable old man is preparing a history of the sect, which may probably throw some faint lights on ancient history ; but I fear that the lapse from the only true religion, with which the bramins are so rudely charged, may be retorted in many instances on the minor doctrines of the Jain themselves.

The Jain are very commonly confounded with the worshippers of Bhoud by the bramins and Hindoos of every cast. But it is only necessary to state that the Jain have, and the Bhoudists have not, a distinction of casts, to prove that the two religions must have been at all times irreconcilable. The Jain assume to themselves the merit of having expelled the worshippers of Bhoud from the southern peninsula at the conclusion of a violent religious war. We have already adverted to a dynasty of Jain kings which ruled at Conjeveram at a very early period ; and Colonel Mackenzie has also found at the same place many incontestable remains of a Bhoudist establishment, but no authority for determining the date of their alleged expulsion.

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## No. VI.

List of the Purgunnahs that appear to have been in the possession of Chick-Deo-Raja of Mysoor, at the time of his death in 1704.

No.	MYSOOR	Revenue
		Canty. Pagodas.
1	Puttun Astagram . . . .	10,000
2	Mysoor Astagram . . . .	11,500
3	Mysoor Tallook . . . .	14,000
4	Hardanhully . . . .	15,000
5	Periapatam . . . .	6,200
6	Muddoor . . . .	13,200
7	Heggadavancotta . . . .	8,000
8	Bettadapoor . . . .	7,000
9	Täyoor . . . .	8,000
10	Yellandoor . . . .	10,000
11	Mallavelly . . . .	9,000
12	Tälcad or Sosilla . . . .	8,100
13	Narsipoor . . . .	10,200
14	Yedtora . . . .	7,200
15	Bailoor . . . .	15,700
16	Arcullgode . . . .	4,300
17	Chinnapatam . . . .	12,100
18	Hassun . . . .	7,900
19	Honawully . . . .	9,400
20	Naganunglum . . . .	4,700
21	Bellore . . . .	3,100
22	Maharajdroog . . . .	10,000
23	Gram . . . .	3,500
24	Ramgherry . . . .	7,400
25	Turkanamby . . . .	7,400
26	Cuddaba . . . .	12,000
27	Toorvykeira . . . .	9,000
28	Coonygul . . . .	5,008
29	Hoolioordroog . . . .	4,000
30	Hickairee . . . .	4,065
31	Chewrayputtun . . . .	9,138
32	Noogyhully . . . .	3,000
33	Mailcottah . . . .	6,100
34	Kishnrajpoor . . . .	
35	Suckroyputtun . . . .	
Carried over		281,411

No.	MYSOOR				Revenue
					Canty. Pagodas.
				Brought up	281,411
36	Banawar	}			
37	Gurradungeery		.	.	10,000
38	Harunhully		.	.	
39	Boodihall		.	.	7,000
40	Hagulwady		.	.	12,000
41	Bangalore		.	.	55,000
42	Māgry		.	.	8,400
43	Mudgerry		.	.	36,000
44	Cortekeirah		.	.	4,000
45	Cankanhully		.	.	8,900
46	Nellamunglum	}	.	.	
47	Dodabulla		.	.	16,000
48	Anicull		.	.	10,300
49	Byrandroog		.	.	4,000
50	Hebboor		.	.	7,000
51	Ootradroog		.	.	5,000
52	Chenroydroog		.	.	8,000
53	Toomkoor	}	.	.	
54	Deoroydroog		.	.	18,000
55	Nidjigull	}	.	.	
56	Maklydroog		.	.	16,000
57	Cundykurah	}	.	.	
58	Chickanaighully		.	.	16,000
59	Chicka Moogloor		.	.	8,134 4
60	Cuddoor		.	.	7,129 7½
61	Burra Ballapoor		.	.	44,000
62	Settigall	}	.	.	
63	Codahully		.	.	15,200
64	Allambaddy	}	.	.	
65	Denkanicotta		.	.	14,000
66	Ruttingerry		.	.	
67	Ossoor		.	.	18,096
68	Ankusageery	}	.	.	
69	Solageery		.	.	4,000
70	Bagloor		.	.	3,000
BARRAMHAL.					
1	Barramhal		.	.	64,000
2	Caveriputtun		.	.	10,000
3	Verabuddroog		.	.	8,000
Carried over					718,571 1½

No.	MYSOOR	Revenue
	Brought up .	Canty. Pagodas. 718,571 1½
4	Raycottah . . . .	8,000
5	Kangoondy . . . .	6,000
6	Darampoory . . . .	8,000
7	Pennagra . . . .	10,000
8	Tingrycotta . . . .	12,000
9	Caverry poor . . . .	8,000
10	Ahtoor Anuntgeery . . . .	18,000
11	Purmutty . . . .	14,000
12	Shendamungul . . . .	20,000
13	Womloor . . . .	16,000
14	Sankergeery . . . .	40,000
15	Namcall . . . .	16,000
16	Koosh . . . .	8,000
17	Salem . . . .	24,000
COIMBETOOR.		
1	Coimbetoor . . . .	20,000
2	Danaikencotta . . . .	35,000
3	Cheoor or Sheoor . . . .	27,000
4	Chingery . . . .	27,000
5	Darapooram and Chuckergeery .	64,000
6	Cangium . . . .	20,000
7	Sattimunglum . . . .	30,600
8	Undoer or Andwor . . . .	8,000
9	Perindoora . . . .	14,000
10	Vizimungle or Arravacourchy .	20,000
11	Errode . . . .	20,000
12	Caroor . . . .	41,000
13	Oodgully . . . .	15,000
14	Caverry pooram . . . .	4,000
Total		1,331,571 1½

## No. VII.

*Curious facts illustrative of the characters of Hyder and Tippoo referred to from a note in page 698.*

It was previously to this campaign, that Hyder exacted from his son the following strange compact, which was found



among the archives at Seringapatam, and a fac simile of the original, together with a translation, is published by Major-General Kirkpatrick in his curious and interesting selection of Tippoo's letters.

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" *Agreement.*

" 1st. I will not do (any) one thing without the pleasure of your blessed Majesty, Lord of Benefits (or my bountiful Lord): if I do, let me be punished, in whatever manner may seem fitting to your auspicious mind.—One article.

" 2d. If in the affairs of the *Sircar*, I should commit theft, or be guilty of fraud great or small, let me, as the due punishment thereof, be strangled.\* —One article.

" 3d. If I be guilty of prevarication, or misrepresentation, or of deceit, the due punishment thereof is this same strangulation.—One article.

" 4th. Without the orders of the Presence, I will not receive from any one, *Nuzzers*, &c.; neither will I take things from any one (meaning perhaps forcibly): if I do, let my nose be cut off, and let me be driven out from the city.—One article.

" 5th. If, excepting on the affairs of the *Sircar*, I should hold conversation (probably *cabal* or *intrigue*), with any person, or be guilty of deceit, &c., let me, in punishment thereof, be stretched on a cross.—One article.

" 6th. Whenever a country shall be committed to my charge by the *Sircar*, and an army be placed under my command, I will carry on all business regarding the same, with the advice, and through the medium of such confidential persons as may be appointed (for the purpose) by the *Sircar*; and if I transact such affairs through any other channel than this, let me be strangled.—One article.

" 7th. If there should be any occasion for correspondence by writing, or to buy or give (away) any thing, or any letters should arrive from any place, I will do nothing (in such matters) without the concurrence and advice of the person appointed by the *Sircar*.—One article.

" 8th. I have written and delivered these few articles of my own free will; keeping the contents thereof in my heart's remembrance, I will act in each article accordingly. If I forget this

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\* Original:—*Gul bayed dad*, of the meaning of which expression, I am far from being certain. It may possibly signify to "extinguish," and hence figuratively to put to death.—Kirkpatrick.

Literally, *let me be hanged*. *Gul dena*, to hang, (Hindustanee,) and in Mysoor Persian, *Gul daden*. It is no impeachment of the learned translator's knowledge, that he did not understand this provincialism.—W.

and act in any other (or different) manner, let me be punished agreeable to the foregoing writing."

If such a performance were discovered in a miscellaneous mass of papers, unconnected with names and circumstances, it would probably be interpreted, as the silly contrivance of some savage, to frighten a child. But those who have had access to know the manners of this court, and the characters of the parties, strange as the assertion may seem, will see in it internal evidence of authenticity.

Hyder, from the earliest youth of Tippoo, made no secret of lamenting, that his intellect was of an inferior order, and his disposition wantonly cruel, deceitful, vicious, and intractable. Among the pranks which he practised about this period, two gave particular offence to his father. 1st. In taking his exercise on horseback, it was his particular delight to hunt the sacred bulls of the Hindoo temples, (the Indian apis,) wounding them, and sometimes destroying them with his lance, (indeed after his own accession he made no scruple of recommending this divine animal to his associates as the best beef). Hyder was shocked at these wanton and unprofitable outrages, on the feelings of the great mass of his subjects. 2d. An English soldier who had been made a prisoner during Colonel Smith's war, had remained in Mysoor, on the liberation of his associates. Tippoo one day took the opportunity of having him suddenly seized, and causing the outward and visible sign of Islâm to be inflicted in his presence. Hyder was at the time particularly anxious to conciliate the English; he abused his son in the grossest terms, put him in solitary confinement, and when released, forbade his courtiers to speak with him; an interdiction which was frequently repeated, as the consequence of subsequent offences. On this occasion, as on many others, he predicted that this worthless successor, would lose the empire which he had created; he observed, that in order to indulge a silly prejudice, he had insulted and injured the soldier, in a manner which could answer no one rational purpose, and might one day bring the vengeance of the English nation on his house. On the subject of the second article of the compact, it may be necessary to explain, that Tippoo never returned from a detachment, without attempting secret embezzlement of the plunder. Hyder on such occasions would lose all patience, and in plain terms call him a thief, and a blockhead; observing that he had not the common sense to perceive that he was stealing from himself: for unhappily, said he, you will be my successor; would that I had begotten *Ayâz* instead of you, (of this *Ayâz* we have already spoken.)

Persian seals are usually marked with the date on which they were engraved; the seal to this instrument, inscribed *Tippoo Sultaân* appears to have been engraved in 1769. and as General

Kirkpatrick observers, this circumstance proves, that the title *Sultaun* was not assumed on his succession, as had been supposed, and had become an object of serious diplomatic discussion, (see the journal of the late Sir C. Ware Mallet in Kirkpatrick's *Tippoo's Letters*,) but had probably been given at his birth. The observation is perfectly correct, and this may be a proper opportunity for explaining the history of the name.

Hyder, from personal communication, and established character, had a particular veneration for the celebrated abstracted devotee, *Tippoo Sultaun* of Arcot, (not Colar as stated by Sir C. Mallet,) whose superb mausoleum at that place, embellished\* by the contributions of pious Mahomedans, continues to be a favourite resort of the devout, from every part of the south of India; and being in Coromandel at the period of the birth of his eldest son, named him after the holy father, who, like most *soofi*, (pure or abstracted saints,) assumed the royal designation, *Shah* or *Sultaun*, the conqueror of his passions, the spiritual lord, the king of the affairs of another world, as the temporal monarch is of this. I do not find among my notes, any temporal history of this spiritual lord. It is probable that he was from the upper country, from the name *Tippoo*, which in the Canarese language signifies *tyger*, and he probably assumed that designation, from the *tyger* being the monarch of the woods, both members of the name thus indicating this ideal sovereignty. This also is the ground of the Sultaun having adopted the stripe of the royal tyger as a part of his insignia. In some extracts from the *Dabistan*, lately communicated to me by Mr. Jonathan Scott, the learned translator of Ferishta's history of the Decan, the author states that *Shah*, (the more usual adjunct of these saints,) in its primitive meaning, signifies *pure*. The orthography of the royal adjunct in the *Dabistan*, and in all works that I have examined, is the same; I am far from desiring to discredit the authority of the *Dabistan*, but if this were the primitive meaning of the word, it has certainly long been disused, and I believe that it cannot be produced in the sense of *pure* in any Persian author, from the date of the *Dabistan* until the present day; and that it is universally applied by the religious, and by all others, in the sense which I have endeavoured to explain. If this received sense of the word *Shah* were doubtful, it would be confirmed by the adoption of the Arabic synonyme *Sultaun*, from a root which signifies *prevalence, power, authority*.

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\* The Nabob Tippoo Sultaun, in the year 1786, applied for permission to repair and embellish, at his own expence, the mausoleum of the saint, whose name he bore, but the permission was refused by Mahommed Ali.

## No. VIII.

(Referred to from Page 804.)

*Extracts from some Letters written by the late Reverend Mr. Swartz, to one of His Majesty's Chaplains, and another Friend in 1779 and 1780.*

In the year 1773, the Nabob found means to usurp the Tanjour country, which he ruined by inhuman exactions. After two years and an half, Lord Pigot arrived and reinstated the King.\* Now the nabob left no means untried, and exhausted all his provinces, for to regain possession of Tanjour. His troops, consisting, besides the infantry, of seven fine regiments of cavalry, who were in a high state of discipline, receiving no pay, and some revolting through bitter hunger, were for the greatest part disbanded, and went away with grief, and some even with tears. Hydernaick received these people with joy. The troops of Tanjour, already short after the nabob's usurpation, had almost to a man entered into Hyder's service. Thus were the hands of this tyrant strengthened against our Government. Lord Pigot sought to reclaim the nabob, for he clearly foresaw whereabouts it would end: but he was soon rendered incapable to act. Probably his intentions were laudable, but he began not with God.

We had lost our church in Tanjour, after that fort had fallen into the hands of the nabob. He amused us with empty promises. But when we were quite at a loss where to assemble for Divine service, my pious friend, Major Stevens, built us a fine mud-wall church at his own expence, which cost him upwards of an hundred star pagodas. But the congregation increasing rapidly, and a fresh covering with straw being requisite from time to time, we began in January 1779, to think of building a spacious and permanent church. A subscription was set on foot, but the amount was shamefully insignificant. At Madras, about 10,000 pagodas were cheerfully contributed towards erecting a *playhouse*. But to build a *prayhouse*, people have no money. Major Stevens, who could have effectually promoted the subscription, and superintended the building, and who intended to return to Europe, and make a faithful representation of what might promote the true interest of the Honourable Company, and the welfare of this country, chiefly of youth, was killed on the 14th of October 1778; before Pondicherry. General Munro, who knew, as well as every body, that Major Stevens and I lived together as brethren, condoled me in the kindest manner, saying, you will not so soon get a Stevens again; however, I request you'll consider me as your friend. Although

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\* Meaning the Raja of Tanjour.

we are bid not to place our reliance upon man, and although their promises are seldom any thing more than compliments ; yet I praise the Lord, whenever he makes any one's heart willing to further the work of God, even in the smallest degree. At a visit which General Munro and I paid the rajah, the General observed, that Christianity is far to be preferred to Paganism : I am convinced, said the rajah, that the Christian religion is an hundred thousand times better than idolatry ; but the conduct of the Europeans makes a bad impressior on his mind.

In full reliance on the help of God, I set about the building of the church in the little fort, which was to be 90 feet long, and 50 feet wide. On the 10th of March 1779, the General laid the foundation stone, 9 feet deep, and I held a short sermon on Psalm lxvii.

As I had rendered the General some little services, by translating the letter which the Court of Directors had wrote to the King\*, by doing chaplain's duty in camp for a short time, and otherwise ; I was informed that he had requested Government to make me a present for my trouble. Instantly when I heard it, I wrote to Madras, declining any present for myself, but if they would do me a favour, I requested that they would make a present of bricks and lime, of which the Company had here a quantity in store, towards the building of this church, as we had not even money enough to pay the labourers, much less to purchase materials. The General, who went to Madras, promised to support and promote this my request. It lasted a good while, ere I heard any thing. At last, in May, the General wrote me word to come up instantly to Madras, because the governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, had something of importance to communicate unto me. I go, and behold to my astonishment I am desired to make a journey to Seringapatam, and to assure Hydernaik, that our Government had no other but thoughts of peace. Sir Thomas addressed me nearly as follows :—It seems that Hyder Ally Cawn meditates upon war ; he has in some letters expressed his displeasure, and even speaks in a menacing tone. We wish to discover his sentiments in this weighty affair with certainty, and think you are the fittest person for this purpose. You'll oblige us if you will make a journey thither, sound Hyder Ally, and assure him that we harbour peaceable thoughts. The reason why we have pitched upon you, is, because you understand the Hindostanee, consequently need no translator in your conferences. We are convinced that you'll act disinterestedly, and won't allow any one to bribe you. In particular, you can travel privately through the country, without external pomp and parade, and thus the whole journey will

remain a secret (which is of great importance to us) until you shall speak with Hyder Naik himself. You will have nothing else to do, than to refer Hyder to his own letters, and to answer some dubious circumstances; and if you perceive him to be peaceably disposed, inform him that some principal members of council will come to him for to settle the business finally. As the intention of the journey is good and christian namely, to prevent the effusion of human blood, and to preserve this country in peace, this commission militates not against, but highly becomes your sacred office; and therefore we hope you will accept it.

I requested time to consider of the proposal, prayed that God would give me wisdom, and thought it my duty not to decline it. The grounds which determined me, were:

1st. Because the mission to Hyder was not attended with any political intrigues. To preserve the blessings of peace was the only aim I had in view, and at that time I really believed Sir Thomas's intentions to be upright and peaceable. I considered, that if God, according to the riches of his mercy, would vouchsafe to employ poor me, as an instrument to establish the happiness of British India; I durst not withdraw myself, nor shrink back on account of the danger of the undertaking, whereof I was fully aware, but I ventured upon it in firm reliance upon God and his fatherly protection.

2d. Because this would enable me to announce the gospel of God my Saviour in many parts, where it had never been known before. And

3d. As the Honourable Company and the Government had shewn me repeated kindness, I conceived that by this journey I might give them some marks of my gratitude.

But at the same time I resolved to keep my hands undefiled from any presents, by which determination the Lord enabled me to abide; so that I have not accepted a single farthing of presents, save my travelling expences. These were given me, and I went over to Tanjour, where I left directions with the native teachers, how they were to act during my absence, to Trichonopoly, where I preached to the Europeans and natives in the absence of Rev. Mr. Pohle, who was on a tour to Pallamcottah, from which he returned the 8th of July.

On the 5th of July, 1779, I set out from Trichinopoly. On the 6th, in the evening, I reached Caroor, Hyder's frontier garrison, about forty miles to the west of Trichinopoly: here I tarried a whole month in expectation of Hyder's answer to my letter. However I had always enough to do, going out daily among the heathens with the catechist (now country priest) Saththianaden, and announcing to them the whole counsel of God concerning our salvation. I constantly instructed, and at

the end of the month baptized some servants of my landlord, a German officer of Hyder's, and had divine service and daily prayers with him and his household.

On the 6th of August we left Caroor, and proceeded on our journey. On the 22d, being Sunday, we made a halt, according to my custom, at Madenemuley, a fine town, where there is a strong bridge\* of twenty-three very substantial arches. After each rain the magistrates of the place must send people to replace any earth that may have been washed away. Hyder's economical rule is to repair all damages without losing an instant, whereby all is kept in good condition and with little expence. The Europeans in the Carnatic leave every thing to go to ruins.

(N.B. It will be remembered, that this was not written in our days, but near thirty years ago.) (Missionary Compiler.)

On the 24th, we arrived near the fort of Mysoor. An high mountain, with a pagoda on its summit, was formerly dangerous to travellers. The Pagan inhabitants of that mountain, imagining that their idol was highly gratified with the sacrifice of noses, &c. used to rush out upon travellers, cut off their noses, and offer them unto their idol. But Hyder has most rigorously prohibited it. The glacis of the fort had the appearance of the finest green velvet. Here also I observed, that, wherever some earth has been washed away by rain, the people instantly repaired it.

On the 25th of August, we arrived at Seringapatam. I had a tent on the glacis of the fort, because an epidemical fever raged within. I had full liberty to go into the fort at all times, nobody preventing me.

Hyder's palace is a fine building in the Indian style. Opposite to it an open place. On both sides are ranges of open buildings, where the military and civil servants have their offices, and constantly attend. Hydernaik can overlook them from his balcony. Here reigns no pomp, but the utmost regularity and dispatch, although Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, yet the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people with whips stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike, gentlemen and horsekeepers, taxgatherers, and his own sons. And when he has inflicted such a public scourging upon the greatest gentlemen, he does not dismiss them. No! they remain in the same office, and bear the marks of the stripes on their backs, as public warnings; for he seems to think, that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves, are void of all principles of honour.

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\* Over the river Caupanee, it was built by the Dulway Dec Raja, about 1735.

Once of an evening, I went into the palace, and saw a number of men of rank sitting round about; their faces betrayed a conscious terror, Hyder's Persian secretary told me, they were\* collectors of districts. To me they appeared as criminals expecting death. But few could give a satisfactory account; consequently the most dreadful punishments were daily inflicted. I hardly know whether I shall mention how one of these gentlemen was punished. Many who read it, may think the account exaggerated, but the poor man was tied up; two men came with their whips and cut him dreadfully; with sharp nails was his flesh torn asunder, and then scourged afresh; his shrieks rent the air.

But although the punishments are so dreadful, yet there are people enough who seek such employments, and out-bid each other. The bramins are by far the worst in this traffic. When they have obtained a district, they flay the people with unrelenting and inhuman cruelty, and with the most philosophical sang froid. At last they pretend to be poor, receive Hyder's chastisement, and return into their district.

When I came to Hyder, he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with the most exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened friendly, and with seeming pleasure to all what I had to say; he spoke very openly and without reserve, and said, that the Europeans had broken their solemn engagements and promises, but that nevertheless, he was willing to live in peace with them, *provided* \* \* \*. At last he directed a letter to be wrote, had it read unto me, and said, what I have spoken with you, that I have shortly mentioned in the letter. You will explain the whole more at length. (But the nabob at Madras and others, found means to frustrate all hopes of peace.)

When I sat near Hydernaik, I particularly observed in what a regular succession, and with what rapid dispatch his affairs proceeded one after the other. Whenever he made a pause in speaking, an account was read to him of the district, and letters received. He heard it, and ordered the answer immediately. The writers ran, wrote the letter. read it, and Hyder apposed his seal. Thus, in one evening, a great many letters were expedited. Hyder can neither read nor write, but his memory is excellent. He orders one man to write a letter and read it to him; then he calls another to read it again. If the writer has in the least deviated from his orders, his head pays for it

What religion people profess, or whether they profess any at all, that is perfectly indifferent to him. He has none himself, and leaves every one to his choice.

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\* It will be observed, that they had all been assembled at this period. See pp. 751, 755 of this volume



His army is under the care of four chief officers, called Buchshee, (from the Persian word Buchsneeden, to give). One might call them Paymasters. But they have to do, not only with the pay, but also with the recruiting services and other things which belong to an army. They are also judges, who settle differences. With these men I had frequent discourses. Some spoke Persian, others only Hindostanee; but all were Mahometans. They asked me what the right prayer was, and to whom we ought to pray. I declared unto them, how we, being sinful men, and therefore deserving God's curse and eternal death, could not come before God but in the name of our Mediator Jesus Christ; and I explained unto them also the Lord's Prayer. To persons who understood Tamul, I explained the doctrines of Christ in Tamul; to the others, in the Hindostanee language.

As the ministers of Hyder's court are mostly bramins, I had many conversations with them. Some answered with modesty; others did not choose to talk on so indefensible a subject, and only meant, that their noble pagodas were not built in vain. I said, the edifices may indeed serve for some use, but not the idols which ye adore.

Without the fort were some hundred Europeans, commanded by a Frenchman, and a squadron of hussars under the command of Captain Budene, a German. Part of those troops were Germans, others Frenchmen. I found also some Malabar Christians. Every Sunday I performed divine service in German and Malabar, without asking any body's leave, but I did it, being bound in conscience to do my duty. We sang, preached, prayed, and nobody presumed to hinder us.

In Hydernaiik's palace, high and low came to me, and asked what our doctrine was, so that I could speak as long as I had strength. Hyder's youngest son (not Tippoo) saw and saluted me in the durbar or hall of audience. He sent to request me to come into his apartment, I sent him word that I would gladly come, if his father permitted it, without his father's leave I might hurt both him and myself. Of this he was perfectly sensible. The most intimate friends dare not speak their sentiments freely: Hyder has his spies every where. But I knew that I might speak of religion night and day, without giving him the least offence.

I sat often with Hyder in an hall that is open on the garden side. In the garden the trees were grafted and bear two sorts of fruit. He had also fine cypress trees, fountains, &c.

I observed a number of young boys, bringing some earth into the garden. On enquiry I was informed, that Hyder had raised a battalion of orphans, who have nobody else to provide for them, and whom he educates at his own expence: for he

allows no orphan to be neglected in all his dominions. He feeds and clothes them, and gives little wooden firelocks, with which they exercise. His care for orphans\* gave me great pleasure. Oh, how much were it to be wished, that we might follow this example, and improve upon it, particularly as to religious instruction, so as it becometh Britons, and as God shall certainly require it at our hands, which he hath therefore armed with power, that we should use it chiefly for his service and glory, not merely for our own.

On the last evening, when I took my leave from Hyder, he requested me to speak Persian before him, as I had done with his people (he understood Persian†, but he does not speak it). I did so; and explained the motives of my journey to him:—"You may perhaps, wonder," said I, "what could have induced me, a priest, who has nothing to do with political concerns, to come to you, and that on an errand, which does not properly belong to my sacerdotal functions. But, as I was plainly told, that the sole object of my journey was the preservation and confirmation of peace; and having witnessed, more than once, the misery and horrors attending on war; I thought within my own mind, how happy I should deem myself, if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship between the two Governments; and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country and its inhabitants. This, I considered as a commission in no wise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of Peace." He said, with great cordiality—"Very well! very well! I am of the same opinion with you; and wish that the English may be as studious of peace as you are. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."

"I took my leave of him. He had sent three hundred rupees into my palankeen, to defray my travelling expences."

(Remark of the compiler.—From another account, which I cannot now find, I recollect, that when the Rev. Mr. S. would have declined the present, he was told by Hyder's people, it would endanger their life, if they dared to take it back. Mr. Schwartz wished then to return it in person; but he was told by one of the ministers, that it was contrary to etiquette to re-admit him into Hyder's presence, since he had his audience of leave; or to receive his written representation on the subject. That Hyder, knowing a great present would offend Mr. S. had

\* This strange misapprehension is a singular example of the good father's credulity. The persons, whose situation excited this eulogium on Hyder's humanity, were the chelas, captive slaves described in p. 748 to which the reader is particularly requested to refer.

† This misconception is easily accounted for; the words, *God, peace, war, friendship, two Governments*, and several others, are the same in Persian and colloquial Hindostanee, and enabled Hyder to comprehend the general scope of the father's Persian speech, and to make an appropriate answer.

purposely confined it only to the lowest amount of travelling expences, &c., Rev. Mr. S. produced the money to Government at Madras, but was desired to keep it.)

"Of my return, and the several discourses I have held with Roman Catholics, Mahometans, and Heathens, I have no time now to mention any thing more. God preserved me on the dangerous journey; gave me abundant opportunities to announce his word, and directed all circumstances so as it was most expedient for me. Praised be his gracious name!"

This journey was likewise an occasion, that both the English and the Tamulian church could be finished, which might otherwise hardly have been the case.

On my return, Government resolved instantly that I should not only have the desired bricks and lime, but also that the Reverend Mr. Pohle, at Trichinopoly, as well as J, now here at Tanjore, should henceforth receive from the Honourable Company each an hundred pounds sterling, as chaplains to the English garrison.

Of those 100l. which I receive, I have given half to Mr. Kholhoff; with the other half, I maintain the native teachers. Rev. Mr. Pohle makes the same use of his 100l. for the benefit of the congregations and schools. But should he be obliged to take also a few pagodas of it for his own use, nobody will I suppose find fault with him for so doing.

The church in the little tort, or Siwingicotah, is 90 feet long, and 50 feet wide. In the beginning of 1780 it was consecrated and called Christ's Church.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA









**ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA**

